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The Case of Korea

By

Henry Chung, A. M., Ph. D.

*Member Korean Commission to America
and Europe.*

The Case of Korea

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KOREA

AND

ITS POSITION IN THE

EAST



The Case of Korea

A Collection of Evidence on the Japanese
Domination of Korea, and on the Devel-
opment of the Korean Independence
Movement :: :: :: :: ::

By

HENRY CHUNG, A. M., Ph. D.

*Member of Korean Commission to America
and Europe*

*Author of "The Oriental Policy of the United States,"
"Korean Treaties," etc.*

With Foreword by

HON. SELDEN P. SPENCER

U. S. Senator from Missouri



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To the memory of those

BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN

*who suffered martyrdom in the national
movement of 1919 that Korea might
have restored independence this volume
is respectfully inscribed*

There is blood that is silent and blood that
cries aloud : The blood of the battle-fields
is drunk in secret by the earth ; the peace-
ful blood that is shed rises moaning toward
the heavens : God receives and avenges it.

—*Chateaubriand.*

Foreword

By HON. SELDEN P. SPENCER,
U. S. Senator from Missouri.

AMERICANS want facts. Justice is not founded upon mere emotion or sentimental enthusiasm. Right follows truth, sometimes slowly, but always eventually.

The history of this book is illuminating and thrilling. It is well worth the thoughtful consideration of all Americans. It deserves and demands attention.

Korea, the historic patriarch of the world,—more than four thousand years old when the United States was born—has a particular appeal to the conscience and heart of our country.

On June 4, 1883, there was proclaimed a “Treaty of Peace and Amity and Commerce and Navigation” between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Korea or “Chosen,” which had been agreed to by the representatives of the respective Governments on May 22, 1882, and was formally ratified by the President of the United States (President Arthur) on

February 13, 1883, after its approval by the Senate of the United States on January 9, 1883.

This Treaty *inter alia* provided:

“There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen and the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments. *If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings.*” (Italics mine.)

This Treaty gave to Korea a “big boy” friend upon whose strength and justice the twenty millions (present population) of Koreans instantly relied with a confidence that was pathetic in its intensity and devotion.

The “Hermit Kingdom” had lifted the latch and at once opened the door in welcome to the world. Other treaties followed, but the Treaty with the United States was the first.

We built the first railroad, the first electric light plant, the first water works in Korea; we constructed the first large Korean steamboats, we equipped her mines with modern machinery.

Korea, both in spirit and in letter, lived up to her Treaty agreement, though, as a matter of fact, it entirely transformed her custom in regard to foreigners

—a custom which had been established for decades of centuries.

The Korean people never changed this Treaty. It was and it is now their star of hope. Neither their Emperor nor their Prime Minister ever consented to its abrogation. Whatever may be the diplomatic situation of to-day, this fact cannot be morally overlooked.

How Japan secured control of Korea and in 1905 became the “protector” and diplomatic spokesman for these intelligent and independent people, and how later Japan completely annexed Korea and made of it a province, and how the Korean people proclaimed the independence of the Korean Republic, are graphically recited—from the standpoint of Korea—in a manner that indicates both historic accuracy and statesmanlike impartiality.

No nation on earth can indefinitely mistreat those over whom it happens for a time to have control.

There is a world public opinion that in the last analysis is absolutely controlling. This opinion may be slow in forming, but woe be to that nation whose conduct is such as to bring upon it the anathema of world condemnation. It would be better for that nation if a millstone were hanged about its neck and that it were drowned in the depth of the sea.

Propaganda skillfully directed, vigorously promul-

gated, may temporarily deceive, but in God's own time the truth shines through the parted clouds and instantly the world recognizes the fact.

I commend this book to the careful thoughts of my fellow Americans. Its record of diplomatic and current events places upon Japan the burden of explanation—a burden which no Government ought either to hesitate or refuse to instantly assume before the judgment bar of the world.

Civilization demands the truth—the whole truth and nothing but the truth—and no part of the civilized world ought to be more insistent for it, either from the standpoint of history or justice or its own honor, than the American people.

SELDEN P. SPENCER.

*Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

Preface

THE world is full of tragedy, and the conscience of mankind is already overburdened with the groans of suffering humanity. But the greatest of national tragedies to-day is little known to the civilized world. And that is the case of Korea. We have wept over Armenia and Belgium, but from neither of these lands does international injustice cry more loudly than from the little Hermit Kingdom of the Far East.

To the unsuspecting Western peoples, kept ignorant by the Japanese Government of conditions in Korea, the Independence Movement of 1919 and Japanese atrocities in connection with it came as a surprise. But the spirit of nationalism, as exhibited by the Koreans in 1919, is simply a blaze from the smouldering fire that is and has been burning ever since Japan usurped Korea. The atrocities committed by Japanese are nothing more than a part of the system that has operated since the protectorate was established in 1905.

As to Korea's right to self-determination, no fair-minded man would raise a question. Of all the nations that obtained their independence after the World

War, none has a better title to freedom than Korea. The Korean race is, perhaps, the most homogeneous in the world. Their history extends back some four thousand years. They have a civilization as great as China's in many ways, and greater than Japan's in most. During the long years of their independent existence, they have created a literature, an art, and culture of their own. In short, they constitute a nation in every ethnic, historical and cultural sense of the word. And to-day the whole nation is united in asserting its right to determine its own destiny according to its own will and choice.

Japan advances many arguments to justify her domination of Korea. They are (1) self-defense, (2) necessity for colonization, (3) benevolent motive to aid Korea. But none of these stands the test of close investigation and international justice.

"An independent Korea, liable to become a possible strategic foothold for a hostile, powerful foe, would be dangerous for Japan," argue the Japanese statesmen; therefore, Japan must hold Korea for self-defense. But who would take Korea in case Japan releases her? The danger of Russian aggression or Chinese "imperialism" is out of the question. The only nation that has a direct interest in that part of the Orient, outside of Russia and China, is the United States. Would it be possible for the United States to take possession of Korea by force of arms, as soon as Japan releases her, for the purpose of imperial aggrandizement? That question can be left to the judgment of the reader.

The pretext that Japan must have Korea for colonization is equally flimsy. Korea is already densely populated, and the Korean farmer cultivates the soil intensively. Furthermore, if the industry and capital now applied by Japan to foreign aggression were used instead for internal development, room for surplus population could be found within Japan proper. Hokkaido (northern Japan) and the southern half of Saghalien Island, though no further north than the states of Oregon and Washington, are sparsely settled. According to the *Japan Year Book* for 1918-19, a semi-official publication edited by Japanese, these regions have unexcelled climate and soil and are rich in fisheries and mineral resources. The area of these partly developed districts of Japan is about 49,000 square miles. This is over four times the size of Belgium, and yet Belgium has a population of seven and a half millions, which is five times as great as the combined population of Hokkaido and the southern half of Saghalien.

The three hundred thousand Japanese, who are in Korea, came there as exploiters, not as immigrants. The tens of thousands of acres now in Japanese possession were the best watered and cultivated lands when taken over by the Government. The loudly advertised claim that Japanese settlers in Korea are reclaiming waste regions or improving uncultivated soil is nothing more than a smoke screen to cover the illegitimate methods employed by the Government to deprive the Koreans of their land. Korea has proved a fertile field for Japanese grafters and land-grabbers,

but as an outlet for colonization on an honest basis, it has proved of no value to the Japanese Empire. The Japanese are no pioneers; they do not have the spirit of enterprise and adventure. They only take over, by underhanded methods, what other people have accomplished. As a field for surplus population, without illegitimate exploitation, an independent Korea would be of no hindrance to Japan. On the contrary, it would be an asset, as then the Japanese immigrants would be welcomed as immigrants and not hated as exploiters.

The third claim that Japan holds Korea for the humanitarian purpose of aiding the Koreans along the path of modern civilization is a nauseating hypocrisy. Ever since Japan went into Korea she has been practising upon the Koreans Turkish cruelty, with German efficiency and Japanese cunning. Yet she claims that she loves the Koreans as her own people. At the very moment when the Japanese statesmen are making public statements that they love the Koreans as their brethren, villages are being wiped out, innocent men and women are being beaten to death behind prison bars. The promises of reform, almost before they have left the mouth of official Tokyo, are being washed away in blood.

Why, then, does Japan want to hold Korea? It is for the same reason that Hideyoshi invaded Korea over three centuries ago. Hideyoshi's real objective was the Asiatic mainland. Korea is the bridge between China and Japan, so it was necessary for the Japanese Shogun to conquer Korea first before march-

ing his armies to the Middle Kingdom. So it is to-day. The ultimate objective of Pan-Nipponism is to consolidate all Asia under Japanese domination, after which will come the settlement of the mastery of the Pacific. In order to dominate the continent of Asia, it is necessary for Japan strongly to entrench herself in Korea so that she may use that territory as a base of military operations. In this respect, and in it alone, the holding of Korea is essential to Japan.

Thus, we see the real object of Japan in holding Korea permits no argument. To the conqueror, whether he be an exponent of Pan-Germanism or Pan-Nipponism, justice has no argument and humanity presents no appeal. He listens to but one reason—that of strategy and cunning; and obeys but one command—that of force. Hence, the Korean question from the Japanese point of view has no argument to present and no appeal to make.

There are some American and European disciples of physical force, though small in number, who still believe that a nation that is not strong enough to maintain its integrity against its aggressive neighbours has no right to enjoy the privileges of independence. Therefore, if the Koreans are not in a position to drive out the Japanese from their land, they should suffer the thralldom of alien domination. This is, indeed, a cynical and callous sentiment based upon the worn-out idea that might makes right. The finer promptings of humanity and generous impulses of good faith are given no voice in the council of force. To those who subscribe to this doctrine—the doctrine of might—the

only plea that I, as a Korean, have to make is the same that Daniel Webster made in his address to the jury in the case of Dartmouth College a century ago: "It is a poor little country, but there are those who love it."

H. C.

Washington, D. C.

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I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

KOREA, the land of Morning Calm, is a country that lies between China, Japan and Russian Siberia. It has an area of 84,000 square miles, not including the "Ten Thousand Islands," that cluster thickly along its western and eastern shores, and give a total area of nearly 90,000 square miles. In length it is about 660 miles with an average width of 130 miles, forming a peninsula that divides the Yellow and Japan Seas.

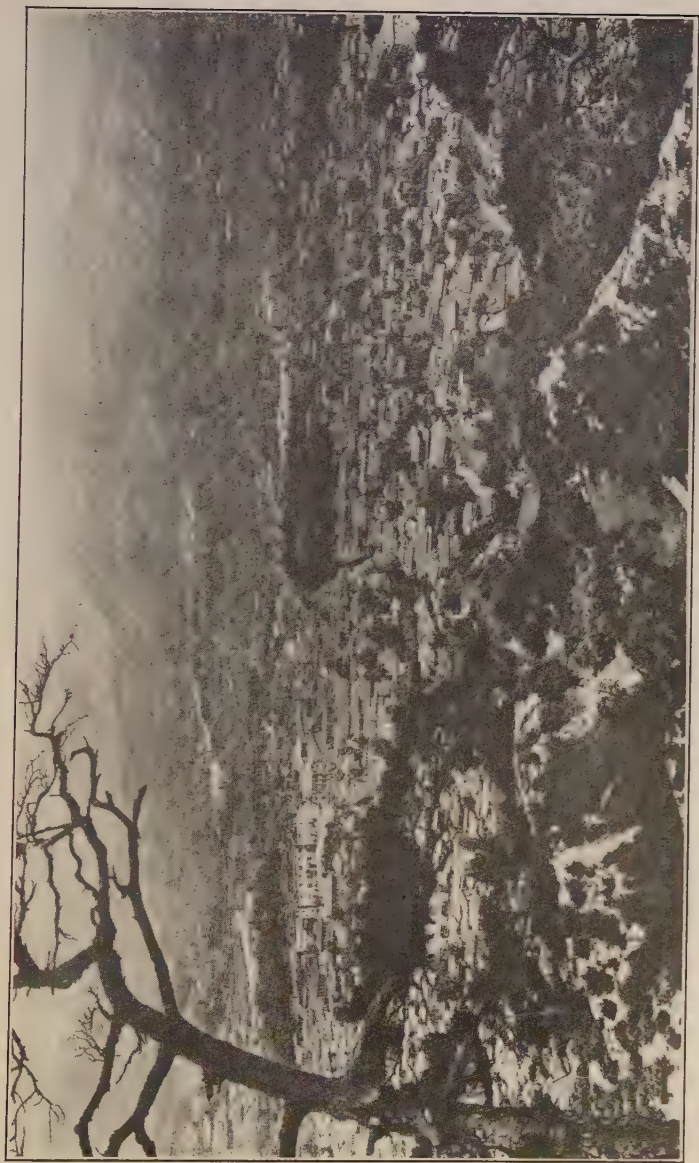
The coastline extends about 1,940 miles, greatly varying in its configuration. The principal harbours are Wonsan (Gensan) on the northeast coast, Fusan and Masanpo at the southern end of the peninsula, and Mokpo, Chemulpo, Chinnampo, and Yongampo on the west coast.

There are no mighty streams in Korea. The Yalu, the longest of them, flowing from the Paik Tu San (White-head Mountain) into the Korea Bay in the Yellow Sea, is navigable about sixty miles from the sea, and forms part of the boundary between Korea and Manchuria. In former years it has been crossed by innumerable armies in marches and counter-marches, and this fact has led to the soubriquet—the

Rubicon of the Orient. The Tumen River rises from the same mountain and following a northeasterly course, empties into the Gulf of Peter the Great in the Japan Sea. These two rivers separate Korea from northeastern Manchuria and Siberia.

A mountain range runs the entire length of the peninsula like the backbone of a fish, and abounds in wild game—tigers, deer, antelopes, leopards, wild boars, bears and pheasants. The most famous of the Korean mountains is the Paik Tu San (White-head Mountain) which lies on the boundary line of Korea and Manchuria. The highest peak of the Paik Tu San is about nine thousand feet above sea level and is an extinct volcano. In its crater lies a beautiful lake, the Dragon Prince's Pool, and on its sides grow primeval forests. The grandeur and beauty of the Paik Tu San have been sung not only by the Koreans and the Chinese, but also in the literature of Japan.

The Diamond Mountains, mother of the River Han, in Kang Wun Province, compare favourably with the Yosemite Valley of California. Of the cliffs and canyons from the monastery of Chang An Sa, Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop says: "Surely the beauty of that eleven miles is not much exceeded anywhere on earth." A more recent visitor describes the scenery as worth travelling around the earth to behold. These mountains are full of monasteries, centuries old, adorned with relics of ancient art. It was to the Diamond Mountains, according to native traditions, that Buddhism first came direct from India, and where fifty-three Buddhists landed with a shipload of scriptures



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PICTURESQUE SEOUL

on the east coast and built the first Buddhist temple, Yu Chum Sa.

Of the climate in Korea, an American who has lived in nine states says that he is "of the opinion that the most delightful all-the-year-round climate to be found anywhere is in this peninsula-kingdom." Winters are dry, clear and crisp, although the summers are hot and rainy. Lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-third parallels of north latitude, the climate is that of the north temperate zone, resembling that of Nebraska and Kansas. The sea surrounding the three sides of the Korean peninsula tends to stabilize the climate; hence the winters are not severely cold nor the summers oppressively hot. The average rainfall is about thirty-six inches a year, affording the exuberant growth of vegetation of the temperate zone, and making intensive agriculture highly profitable. Millet, beans, peas, rice, potatoes, Indian corn, wheat, barley, buckwheat, rye, cotton, silk, tobacco, sorghum and a variety of garden truck have been successfully grown for centuries. Korea has always produced more grain than her people could consume, and in the past has had the least number of famines of any country in the East.

The country is not less rich in its mineral resources. Gold, silver, tungsten, graphite, copper, iron, coal and chalk have been found in Korea, some of them in abundant deposits. The Unsan mine alone, a gold mine controlled by an American firm, produced within a dozen years after the concession was granted in 1896, 1,637,591 tons of ore, valued at \$10,701,157.

The origin and classification of the Korean race is more or less a baffling problem to the ethnologists of the world. The Korean scholars themselves are uncertain as to the origin of their ancestors. Racial characteristics of the Malays, the Mongols and the Caucasians are found among the people of Korea. It will be of interest to note the opinion of the various Western observers on this point. Prof. A. H. Keane, a distinguished ethnologist of Great Britain, maintains that the Korean people were originally of Caucasian stock intermingled with the Mongolian race. In his discussion of the racial stock of the Asiatic peoples the great English authority on races states:

In the adjacent Korean Peninsula the Caucasian element is even more marked than among the Tunguses. European features—light eyes, large nose, hair often brown, full beard, fair and even white skin, tall stature—are conspicuous especially amongst the upper classes and in the south. The presence of Neolithic Caucasians from the Far West is, also, attested by their works, megalithic structures, which look like duplicates of the European dolmens and cromlechs. The Koreans take their present name from the Koryo dynasty (918–1392 A. D.), which marks the most flourishing epoch in the national records. For about five hundred years they were the dominant people in northeast Asia; trade and the industrial arts were highly developed, and it was in Korea that the Japanese first acquired that skill in porcelain and bronze work which they afterwards brought to such great perfection.¹

¹ Cf. A. H. Keane, *The World's Peoples*, p. 163; *idem*, *Ethnology*, p. 314.

Professor Homer B. Hulbert, formerly an American educationalist, after his stay of over twenty years in Korea, says concerning the people:

They are overshadowed by China on the one hand in respect of numbers, and by Japan on the other in respect of wit. They are neither good merchants like the one nor good fighters like the other, and yet they are far more like Anglo-Saxons in temperament than either, and they are by far the pleasantest people in the Far East to live amongst.¹

It is fairly certain that the aborigines of Korea intermingled with other Asiatic races—the Manchus, the Mongols, the inhabitants of China proper, and the Aryan race of Hindustan. They had formed the racial consciousness and national solidarity of Korea long before the birth of the modern nations in Europe.

This discussion of Korean ethnography will not be complete without a word about the racial distinction between the Koreans and the Japanese. This is especially important because the Japanese are now inventing ethnological facts and are creating historical data to prove to the Koreans that Japan was their mother country, as England was to America, and that everything in Korean civilization originally came from Japan. Here I can do no better than to quote the following from the pen of Dr. James S. Gale, one of the greatest Western scholars on Korean history.

Korea remained a single undivided kingdom from 669 A. D. till August, 1910, twelve hundred and forty-one

¹ Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, Preface.

years. Only twice in all that time did her ruling House change, once in 918, and again in 1392, and never did she have any internal wars as great as those of the Roses of England. Scholars and writers lived and flourished, an army of them, when our fathers had only Chaucer. In 1600 an assembly of as brilliant literati as the world has ever seen, gathered in Seoul, unconscious that on the other side of this little planet Shakespeare was writing *Hamlet*.

The works of one great scholar crossed the path of the writer recently, and he offered twenty-two yen (\$11.00) for it, but a Japanese bought it over his head for forty-four. The Japanese fairly worship the literature of this little kingdom and long that they may write such lines as these.

Great in letters, great also was she in porcelain, in paper, in printing, in brass and iron work—a highly gifted people, untouched by the outer world. True, she was nominally under the suzerainty of China, but that was only a gentleman's agreement between the Imperial and Royal Houses. The Chinese never thought of interfering with Korea's internal affairs for all these fourteen hundred years.

In 1910 Korea's independence was lost, not by conquest, but by half a dozen officials handing over the State to Japan. They were liberally pensioned off and to-day enjoy the fruits of their labours while the awakened people behold their land in bondage. . . .

Korea and Japan find it impossible to live together in harmony, so different are they. The Japanese are worshippers of the Emperor and count him semi-divine. The Koreans laugh at the idea. . . . The Koreans, even the lowest classes, are all more or less gentlemen imbued with the saving truths of Confucianism, while the lower class Japanese are closely allied to the naked South Sea Islanders. . . .

The Korean is a man of the pen while Japan is a nation of warriors. Military officials in Korea have always been rated second class, while Japan is ruled by the sword, and admires beyond measure the Hohenzollern with his clicking spurs.

The prominence of the prostitute in Japan is shocking to Korea. When a candidate for Parliament can issue a manifesto as proof of his worth and fitness for office, stating that he is backed up by the lawyers of the town, by the rice merchants, and by the head of the prostitutes' guilds, without giving any offense or calling forth any remarks, we can judge of the peculiar view Japan has as to the "strange women." Korea's view of her is just what the American view is, or should be. From these illustrations it will be seen how difficult it is for Korea and Japan to walk together.¹

Suffice it to say that the racial and cultural distinction between Korea and Japan is, and always has been, greater than that between France and Germany. And in so far as I am able to judge, this distinction will remain despite the desperate effort of the Nipponese to Japanize the Hermit Kingdom. Korea will remain Korea and, like the Frenchman's chameleon, the more it changes the more it becomes the same.

The population, as given out by Japan, on December 31, 1918, was 17,412,871, which included foreigners 19,956, classified as follows: Chinese 18,972, Americans 597, British 223, French 107, Germans 57. It will be noted that no data are given as to the number of Japanese, but the census of 1915 gave the number

¹James S. Gale, "The Missionary Outlook in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1920, pp. 117-122.

of Japanese as 303,659. Both the census of 1915 and of 1918 were published by Japan for the world's benefit, with the number of Koreans purposely misstated. Japanese military records, which approach German precision and methods, give the total number of Koreans as 18,383,446. If we add to this figure the million and a half or more Koreans living in Siberia and Manchuria, we have a grand total of 20,000,000 people who are citizens of Korea.

The Christianity of Korea is predominantly Protestant. Just before Japan began its policy of destroying the churches and schools, there were 3,164 Christian churches, with 6,690 ministers. The Buddhists had 258 places of worship with 313 priests, and the Japanese maintained sixty-five Shinto places in which to worship the picture of the Mikado. The Christian missionary field in Korea is highly developed, and is more or less self-supporting, reaching out into activities that are carried on by the citizen adherents. The Presbyterians have twenty-one Mission centers all told with full complements of churches, schools, hospitals, etc. The Methodists have eight and the Catholics have from twenty to thirty. The Chuntokyo or "Heaven Worshippers" have a numerical strength about equal to that of the Buddhists, though they are not mentioned in Japanese statistics.

II. HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

The history of Korea dates back to the founding of Korea by Tan-Koon, 2333 B. C., in the basin of Sungari River, which is now known as Southern Man-

churia. The founding of the Fuyu Kingdom by this king of Korea is recognized by Du Halde, the French geographer and historian on the authority of ancient manuscripts which he translated, and the coming of the King Kija from China in 1122 B. C. is recognized in all written history. To this day the inhabitants of Pyeng Yang preserve the tomb of this Chinese sage, who gave them law and civilization, as a sacred shrine, and pilgrims pay annual visits to this Mecca of Korea.

The history of Korea is not a peaceful one; there have been invasions and counter-invasions from China and Japan, such as the invasion of Korea by Gengis-Khan in 1218, and the Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi in 1592. But sooner or later Korea succeeded in driving out foreign invaders and maintained the country free and independent.

The Yi dynasty, which ended August 29, 1910, was founded by Yi Taijo in 1392. He was the commanding officer of the Korean army sent out to invade China. But the ambitious general turned his forces against his ruler, thereby usurping the Korean throne. He promptly formed an alliance with China securing the friendship and support of the Chinese Emperor. From then on Korea maintained these relations with her more powerful neighbour. But she made treaties with other nations and administered her own laws independent of China.

Korea made her first treaty with Japan in 1876, the first article of which reads: "Chosen, being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan." The Korean-American treaty was made

in 1882; the treaty between Korea and Great Britain was made in 1883; one with Germany in the same year; with Italy and Russia in 1884; with France in 1886; with China in 1895, in which China definitely recognized the independence of Korea, as had all other countries up to that time; with Belgium in 1901, and with Denmark in 1902. In the meantime on November 12, 1897, the King of Korea was raised to the title of Emperor and was so recognized by all the Powers.

In 1882 the King of Korea wrote to the President of the United States saying:

Now as the governments of the United States and Korea are about to enter into treaty relations, the intercourse between the two nations shall be carried on in every respect on terms of equality and courtesy, and the King of Korea clearly assents that all of the articles shall be acknowledged and carried into effect according to the laws of independent states.

Thus it is clear that Korea had always maintained her independence and national entity during the forty centuries of her history until a protectorate was forced upon her by Japan in 1905.

During the dynasty of Tan-Koon Korea seems to have developed a degree of civilization rarely found among primitive people, such as the art of writing, cultivation of the soil and the domestication of animals. This civilization was materially advanced by that which the Chinese brought over by Kija, 1122 B. C. This Chinese noble introduced a new written

language—Chinese ideographs, established a stable government, enacted wise laws, and also stabilized a civilization that was even higher than that which at that time prevailed in China.

During the period of the Sila dynasty, the people imbibed much of the Hindu civilization through Buddhism, which was then the prevailing religion of the peninsula. They cultivated the arts; built walls around their cities; fortified strategic points; used horses, oxen and wagons; made silk; smelted ore; manufactured iron; and traded with other kingdoms. Koradadbeh, an Arab geographer of the ninth century, describes the Koreans as familiar with manufacture of nails, and states that they rode on saddles, wore silk, and were skilled in the making of porcelain. According to another Western authority:

Japanese records show that the Japanese themselves first learned from Koreans the cultivation of the silk-worm, the weaving of cloth, architecture, the printing of books, the painting of pictures, the beautifying of gardens, the making of leather harness, and the shaping of more effective weapons. . . . Whereas the Chinese invented the art of printing from movable wooden blocks, the Koreans invented metal type in 1403. They used a phonetic alphabet in the early part of the fifteenth century. They saw the significance of the mariner's compass in 1525. They devised, in 1550, an astronomical instrument which they very properly called "a heavenly measurer." Money was used as a medium of exchange in Korea long before it was employed in Northern Europe. They used cannon and explosive shells when the Japanese invaded in 1592. The first iron-clad warship in the world was invented by a Korean, Admiral

Yi-Sun-Sin, in the sixteenth century. He called it the *Tortoise Boat*, and he commanded it with such effectiveness against the Japanese that it was largely instrumental in defeating the fleet of Hideyoshi. . . .

While the Japanese proved themselves to be stronger in war, they were deeply influenced by the Koreans in religion and the arts of peace. Korea gave Buddhism to Japan in 552 A. D. . . . Many people praise the Japanese for their exquisite Satsuma ware without knowing that the Koreans long ago taught the Japanese the art of its manufacture.¹

From time immemorial coöperative associations for business enterprise and insurance companies for mutual protection in the form of various guilds were known in Korea. A paragraph from the pen of Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop on the Korean *Kyei* (guild) is illuminating:

The faculty of combination, by which, in Korea as in China, the weak find some measure of protection against the strong, is being turned to useful account. This *Kyei*, or principle of association, which represents one of the most noteworthy features of Korea, develops into insurance companies, mutual benefit associations, money-lending syndicates, tontines, marriage and burial clubs, great trading guilds and many others.

With its innumerable associations, only a few of which I have alluded to, Korean life is singularly complete, and the Korean business world is far more fully organized than ours, nearly all the traders in the country being members of guilds, powerfully bound together, and having the common feature of mutual helpfulness in time of need. This habit of united action, and the measure of honesty which is essential to the success of combined

¹A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Pacific*, pp. 53-54.

undertakings, supply the framework on which various joint-stock companies are being erected, among which one of the most important is a tannery.¹

William Elliot Griffis, a profound American scholar on Oriental history and civilization, writes as follows on the educational system of Korea:

She fosters education by making scholastic ability, as tested in the literary examination, the basis of appointment to office. This "Civil Service Reform" was established in Chosen by the now ruling dynasty early in the fifteenth century. Education in Korea is public, and encouraged by the government in this sense, that it is made the road to government employ and official promotion. By instituting literary examinations for the civil and military service, and nominally opening them to all competitors, and filling all vacancies with the successful candidates, there is created and maintained a constant stimulus to culture.²

Indeed, the Korean civilization which the Westerners found when Korea was first opened to Western intercourse was decidedly lower than what it had been. This, of course, does not mean that Korea was decadent. The history of Italy, Greece and Egypt shows that the civilization of a people has its ebb and flow. *The potential genius of the present-day Korean is awakening under the guiding influence of Western culture and Christian democracy. That is the spirit of the new Korea.*

¹ Isabella Bird Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, pp. 440-441.

² William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, p. 339.

III. INAUGURATION OF THE "OPEN DOOR"

Korea opened its doors to the outside world with the treaty that it made with the United States in 1882. Prior to that time it had been known as the "Hermit Kingdom," and the policy of the nation had been to isolate itself from all outside intercourse; its statesmen believing that such contact led to strife and war. The "Open Door" treaty with the United States of 1882 was followed by similar Treaties with Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, China, Belgium and Denmark. The diplomatic relations thus inaugurated continued for twenty-three years, until 1905, and would still be in existence but for Japanese ambition to dominate Asia to the exclusion of other Powers.

Each of the Treaties contained the clause that:

If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings.

No one has ever had the hardihood, not even the Japanese, to contend that Korea ever violated any of these Treaties in the smallest detail. She kept her covenants and would still be fulfilling her international obligations to the world but for Japan; and, outside of Japan, it must be said that up to 1905 when Japan took its bold stand as to Korea, the other Powers, in many instances, actively and conscientiously fulfilled their obligations towards Korea.

In 1895 at the making of the Shimonoseki Treaty

between Japan and China, the United States, according to the late Secretary of State John W. Foster, intervened to insure the writing into that Treaty of a clause that provided for the explicit recognition by both Japan and China of the independence and territorial integrity of Korea. Prior to that time Acting Secretary of State, A. A. Adey, had made a ruling denying the suzerainty of China. In 1898 Russia actively opposed Japanese aggression in Korea and in the Treaty between Russia and Japan, April 25, 1898, again forced Japan to acknowledge the independence of Korea.

However, in 1905 all this active and aggressive assistance from the other Powers with which Korea had treaty relations ceased. But Korea is fair enough to assume that the other Powers have been misled by the intrigue and deceptive methods of Japan, and that when "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" stands out before the world, the other Powers will fulfill their covenants as fully and freely as they did prior to 1905.

The foregoing is the political side of the "Inauguration of the Open Door" in Korea. There is also a practical, commercial side. America, the first western nation with which treaty relations were made, naturally had the lead and maintained precedence in the commercial development of Korea. Americans built the first railroad, the first electric light plant, first electric railway and the first water works; installed the first modern arsenal and powder plant, built Korea's first steamboats of any size, and furnished her mines with

the first modern machinery. America by no means had exclusive concessions, though it may have held the lead; Great Britain, France and other Powers took a part in this development.

There are 1,066 miles of standard gauge railroads, consisting of a main line running diagonally the length of Korea from Fusan, on the southeast, to Wiji, on the northwest, via the capital city, Seoul, and the next largest city, Pyeng Yang, with branch lines to the port cities of Chinnampo, Chemulpo, Kunsan, Mokpo, Masanpo and Wonsan.

There is also a narrow gauge railroad, eighty miles long, from the east coast city of Chun-chin, to Hoi-ryung in the northeast of Korea, and electric street railways are in operation in Seoul, the capital, and Pyeng Yang. In 1898 Korea was formally admitted into the International Postal Union, and throughout the country there has been maintained an efficient postal, telephone and telegraph service.

Of course, these things are all now dominated and controlled by Japanese; nevertheless they are there, a nucleus for a still greater and more liberal development when Korea is restored to her rightful international status.

II

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KOREA AND JAPAN

KOREA and Japan have been traditional enemies from time immemorial. "There has never been a time in history, from 600 B. C to the present time, when Japan has not exhibited a hostile and aggressive spirit towards the Korean people and government," says Homer B. Hulbert, the author of *Korean History* and the *Passing of Korea*.

For 2,000 years it was a series of robber raids and attempted extortions on the part of Japan, until in 1390 A. D. a Korean general succeeded in inflicting such punishment upon the corsairs that they ceased for a time their raids. But in 1592 the Japanese invaded the country with an immense army, and it was only after seven years of sanguinary strife that the combined Korean and Chinese armies finally expelled the invaders. It is said that twenty per cent. of the Korean population perished in this conflict. It put a stop to Japanese aggression for 300 years.¹

At the time of Hideyoshi's invasion, 1592, Korea had a standing army of 50,000. Nearly 3,000,000 people, men, women and children, were killed by Japa-

¹ From a report, printed in the *Congressional Record*, August 18, 1919.

nese, and ninety per cent. of the perished were non-combatants.¹ The Japanese army literally "scooped the country," as one historian puts it, carrying away whatever they could, and destroying what they could not take with them. Priceless treasures of Korean art and porcelain were destroyed by the invading hordes, and since then the Korean art never regained its ancient glory. Even to-day a traveller in Japan can see in a street of Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, the famous, or rather infamous, "Ear and Nose Monument," beneath which are buried the severed ears and noses of several thousand Koreans as a grim evidence of Japanese methods of waging war upon Koreans over three centuries ago.

The Koreans have hated the Japanese ever since this struggle. After the "Restoration" in Japan, a letter was sent to the Koreans notifying them of the fact and asking for commercial intercourse. The Koreans sent a contemptuous reply. This aggravated the situation, and in 1875 armed conflicts between two countries occurred, but war was not formally declared. In the following year, February 26, 1876, the Koreans were compelled to sign a treaty with Japan, the provisions of which were, to quote an eminent authority, "in almost every detail precisely similar to those in the treaties which Japan had herself, when ignorant of international law and custom, originally concluded with Western Powers, and which she afterwards so bitterly resented as a stain on her national dignity.

¹ Cf. *Korean History* prepared by Korean Historical Commission, published in Shanghai, China, 1919, pp. 187-188.



SUR JAI-PIL.



KIM OAK-KYUN.



YI YONG-CHIK.



YUN CHI-HO.



YI SANG-JAI.

A GROUP OF EARLY REFORMERS SOME OF WHOM ARE STILL
ACTIVE IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

As the Western Powers had done with herself, so did she now, without one particle of compunction, induce Korea to sign away her sovereign rights of executive and tariff autonomy, and to confer on Japanese residents within her borders all the extra-territorial privileges which were held to violate equity and justice when exercised by Europeans in Japan.”¹

With the signing of this treaty, Japan laid her plans for the final absorption of Korea. But she saw that China was in the way. Korea had been the buffer state between China and Japan for centuries, and the domination of Korea by Japan would mean tearing down the wall that kept the Japanese out of China. In order to control Korea China must be compelled to stay neutral. With characteristic celerity, Japan made preparations for what she deemed to be inevitable conflict with China. When she felt that she was sufficiently prepared, she struck the blow and China was completely prostrated.²

In the treaty of peace, signed at Shimonoseki, 1895, it was provided that “China and Japan recognize definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy, and guarantee the complete neutrality of Korea.” Again, in the treaty of alliance which Japan negotiated with Korea at the opening of the war with China, it had been declared that its object was “to maintain the independence of Korea on a firm footing.” Japan,

¹J. H. Longford, *The Evolution of New Japan*, p. 105.

²For the causes and events of the war and peace negotiations thereof, see the list of references given in the author's *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, pp. 47-48.

then, as well as now, spared no pains to conceal her ulterior designs.

After removing the Chinese obstacle, however, Japan was surprised to find that she had one more to remove. This time it was the Korean Queen. Queen Min is considered by many Korean historians as the Elizabeth of Korea. She, like the illustrious Queen of England, had many personal shortcomings, such as feminine vanity, love of flattery, extravagance and intolerance of opponents. But she was a woman of iron will, of intense patriotism, and of astute judgment. It was said that she could decide in ten minutes what took the Cabinet members ten months to debate over. She firmly believed that the Koreans should manage their own affairs and determine their own destiny independent of foreign influence. She perceived instinctively that beneath all the expressions of good will and official guarantees of Korean independence Japan had ulterior designs with regard to Korea. She vigorously opposed the spread of Japanese influence as endangering Korean sovereignty. Japanese officials approached her with their familiar tactics of reasoning, threats, bribes and cajolery. But nothing could move her. She stood like a rock against beating waves. Finally the Japanese concluded that the only way they could carry out their plans in Korea was to remove the Queen; there was no alternative. It was not a pleasant thing to kill the Queen of a neighbouring country, yet the policy of Greater Japan was paramount; nothing must stand in its way. So the Japanese Minister at Seoul, Viscount Miura, under

the instruction of his Government at Tokyo, brought over from Japan *soshi* (professional assassins) to execute the plans of the Imperial Government. The following succinct paragraph from a competent Western witness gives the description of the murder:

The murder of the Korean Queen in 1895 is ascribed directly to this project (project of ultimately annexing Korea to Japan), as the anti-Japanese influence of the Queen was an obstacle in its path. Japanese assassins, said to be acting under instructions from the accredited representatives of Japan at the Korean Court, penetrated within the palace precinct, killed the Queen, and set the palace on fire. Meanwhile, a group of the murderers went to the King, brandishing their weapons and uttering threats; the King, himself, however, was not injured. The Minister of the Household Department, who had been wounded, fled to the presence of the King, and was stabbed before the King's eyes. On the following morning, while still fearing for his life, the Korean ruler was forced to sign documents that gave over all power into the hands of men who were under Japanese domination. Virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Japanese, he finally made his escape and took refuge within the walls of the Russian Legation; here he called together his friends, reorganized his government and punished his enemies.¹

It was a gigantic blunder, as well as a crime of the first magnitude. The Japanese authorities at Tokyo and Seoul at first tried to suppress the news. At that

¹ From the *New York Times Current History*, September, 1919, p. 546. For full description of the murder, see F. A. McKenzie, *Tragedy of Korea*, Chapters V and VI; *idem*, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, Chapter III.

time Colonel Cockerill, the famous correspondent of the New York *Herald*, was in Seoul. He immediately cabled the news to his paper, but the message was stopped by the Japanese, and the money returned to him. But gradually the news leaked out to Europe and America, and was published in the leading daily papers. Then the Japanese Minister, Viscount Miura, tried to disclaim responsibility for the crime, but that became manifestly impossible in view of the fact that many foreigners in Seoul knew the part he played in the murder, and the very man who hacked down the Queen was Okamoto, one of the two right-hand men of Viscount Miura. The Japanese Court of Preliminary Inquiries at Hiroshima held a farcical trial of the murderers in order to give to the West an impression that the guilty were to be punished. But the case was dismissed, and Viscount Miura and his accomplices became national heroes.¹ The side of the defense, as advocated by Mr. Masujima, attorney for Viscount Miura, illustrates better than anything else the Japanese legal conception of justice—that killing is no murder when it is done to secure political supremacy. Mr. Masujima wrote:

Whatever may be thought by weaker minds, the result of the *emeute* has been most happy for the peace and progress of the world. Had the Queen been successful in her conspiracy, all the efforts made by Japan for the resuscitation of Korea would have been fruitless. The only political party which could reform Korea, and thereby maintain her independence, would have been ex-

¹ For details of the trial, see Appendix I.

tirpated. The Queen was Korean at heart, and was accustomed to violent and treacherous methods. Supported by a foreign power in her policy, she was ready to resort to any means to execute her program. The promise of any foreign assistance to her was inciting and dangerous. Such a course of diplomatic procedure must be put down. The *emeute* crushed the mischief. The form of the Queen's conspiracy was criminal, and the Japanese Minister was justified in preventing the execution of the criminal attempt. He did only his duty as soon as he was in charge of the peace and order of Korea. The root of political troubles, the effects of which would have lasted for a long time to come, was torn up. Considering the class of diplomacy prevailing in Korea, Viscount Miura has accomplished only a triumph.¹

Regardless of what the Japanese thought of the murder, and in spite of the attempt of the Japanese officials to minimize their responsibility therefor, the incident did more harm to Japan before the Western world than anything else at that time. Realizing their mistake, the Japanese Government immediately put on the soft pedal. They abandoned their aggressive tactics and initiated conciliatory methods in their relations with Korea. The Korean King was allowed to be restored to power, and Count Inouyé, a liberal Japanese statesman, was sent to Korea as Envoy Extraordinary to smooth things over. This prevented the rising of the Korean people against the Japanese.

In the following year, on May 14, 1896, Japan gave her definite pledge to Russia, that "the most complete and effective measures will be taken for the control of

¹ Published in *The Far East*, February, 1896, Vol. I, p. 20.

Japanese *soshi*," and that the Japanese troops would be withdrawn from Korea as soon as there was no apprehension of attack on Japanese settlements by the angry Korean populace.

On April 25, 1898, a formal agreement was signed between Russia and Japan, the first article of which reads: "The Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan recognize definitely the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and pledge themselves mutually to abstain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country."¹

Next came the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance of January 30, 1902. In it the Japanese Government united with that of Great Britain in declaring that the sole purpose of the Alliance was to preserve the *status quo* and general peace in the Far East, and that they were especially interested in maintaining the territorial integrity of the Empire of Korea as well as of the Empire of China. "The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognized the independence of China and Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country," says the opening sentence of the first article of the memorable document.²

In his rescript, declaring war against Russia in 1904, the Emperor of Japan asserted the integrity of Korea to be "a matter of greatest concern to the Empire," and that the "separate existence of Korea is essential to the safety of our realm." A few days later, an offensive and defensive alliance was formed between

¹Appendix II, (c).

²Appendix II, (c).

Korea and Japan against Russia in the signed protocol of February 23, 1904. Article III of the protocol contained Japan's pledge: "The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire."¹ In return for this guarantee, and on the strength of the alliance, the Japanese army was given the use of Korean territory as a base of military operations against Russia. The physical labour, the use of the harbour, the communication and transportation facilities and the resources of Korea contributed no small amount of aid in winning the war. And, as the former Emperor of Korea said in his letter to the American Government, had Russia won the war "she could have seized Korea and annexed her to Russian territory on the ground that we were active allies of Japan."²

With all these treaty pledges and official declarations of the Japanese Government that Japan was fighting to preserve Korean independence, the reader will get a clear idea of Japan's seizure of Korea if he could imagine that the American Expeditionary forces, after driving the Germans out of French territory, seized France as the prize of victory. After the Japanese army, with its usual camp followers, the scum of the Japanese population, entered Korea, they remained. The treaty of February 23, 1904, cited before, was the last treaty that the Korean Government made with Japan of free will and choice. From that time on treaties and agreements were of the "made in Japan"

¹ Appendix II, (c).

² *Congressional Record*, August 18, 1919, p. 4194.

brand to which the Korean officials were compelled to put their signatures at the point of the sword. The Japanese officials knew at this time that the ultimate annexation of Korea was a foregone conclusion, and they talked about it freely among themselves. But it was as yet a secret to the simple-minded Korean officials, who were advised by the Japanese Government, at the time of the Korean-Japanese Alliance at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, to place "full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan, and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvements in administration." Japan could have annexed Korea outright then. But the Japanese wanted to go through the formality of "agreements" so that they could say to the world that Korea "voluntarily" surrendered her sovereignty to Japan.

How Japan managed these formalities is told by an American authority on Oriental Politics:

Acting nominally as a free agent, but actually without an option, Korea agreed, in August, 1904, to engage, as financial and diplomatic advisers, Japanese subjects recommended by the Japanese, and that all matters concerning finance and foreign relations should be dealt with only after the counsel of these advisers had been taken. Furthermore, the Korean Government agreed to consult the Japanese Government "previous to concluding treaties or conventions with foreign powers and in dealing with other diplomatic affairs such as granting concessions to or contracts with foreigners."

In April, 1905, came an agreement under which the postal, telegraph and telephone services of Korea were surrendered into the control of Japan. And in August

of the same year it was claimed by Japan and recognized by Great Britain, as stated in the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, that Japan possessed "paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea."¹

The next month in the Portsmouth treaty of peace between Russia and Japan, Russia made a similar acknowledgment as her war indemnity to Japan. There were three nations—Great Britain, Russia and the United States—that could have made some objection to Japan's absorption of Korea. The United States was eliminated as a factor by reason of its having acted as peacemaker between Russia and Japan. Russia consented to Japan's domination of Korea as her war indemnity, Great Britain welcomed the advance of the influence of her Eastern ally, so as to checkmate the Russian influence and protect the commercial interests and territorial possessions of the British Empire in the East, and to concentrate the British fleet in the North Sea as a counterbalance to Germany. With the foreign obstacles out of the way now Japan was ready to take the definite step in destroying the sovereignty of Korea.

Early in November, Marquis Ito, the most distinguished statesman of Japan, arrived in Seoul as a special envoy from the Emperor of Japan. On November 15 Marquis Ito was received in formal audience, and there presented a series of demands drawn up in treaty form. They would in effect establish the Japanese protectorate over Korea. They provided

¹ W. W. Willoughby, "Japan and Korea," *The Unpartizan Review*, February, 1920, pp. 26-27.

that the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs was henceforth to have "control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Korea," and Japanese diplomatic and consular officials were to have charge of Korean interests in foreign countries; further, Japan was to be represented at the Korean capital by a "Resident-General," and by "Residents" at the several open ports or at such other places as the Japanese Government might deem necessary. The last article provided that "The Japanese Government guarantees to maintain the security and respect the dignity of the Korean Imperial House."

The Korean Emperor and his Cabinet Ministers were aghast, and the demands were met with blank refusal. The conversation between the Emperor and the Marquis follows:

The Emperor said,

Although I have seen in the newspapers various rumours that Japan proposed to assume a protectorate over Korea I did not believe them, as I placed faith in Japan's adherence to the promise to maintain the independence of Korea which was made by the Emperor of Japan at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War and embodied in a treaty between Korea and Japan. When I heard you were coming to my country I was glad, as I believed your mission was to increase the friendship between our countries, and your demands have, therefore, taken me entirely by surprise.

To which Marquis Ito rejoined,

These demands are not my own; I am only acting in accordance with a mandate from my Government, and if Your Majesty will agree to the demands which I have

presented it will be to the benefit of both nations, and peace in the East will be assured forever. Please, therefore, consent quickly.

The Emperor replied,

From time immemorial it has been the custom of the rulers of Korea, when confronted with questions so momentous as this, to come to no decision until all the Ministers, high and low, who hold or have held office, have been consulted, and the opinion of the scholars and the common people has been obtained, so that I cannot now settle this matter myself.

Said Marquis Ito again,

Protests from the people can easily be disposed of, and for the sake of the friendship between the two countries Your Majesty should come to a decision at once.

To this the Emperor replied,

Assent to your proposal would mean the ruin of my country, and I will, therefore, sooner die than agree to them.

After five hours of arguing with the Emperor, the Marquis left the palace without accomplishing anything. He at once tackled the Cabinet Ministers individually and collectively. He argued with them; offered them bribes of immense fortune; threatened to kill them if they refused to yield. One of the arguments used by the Marquis, which might be of particular interest to the Western reader, was that the union of Korea and Japan would create the basis of a great nation, composed of all yellow races, to checkmate the spreading influence of the white man who was

ever bent to exploit and subdue all other races. Thus, the union of two nations would be not only a blessing but a necessity for the future welfare of the Asiatic peoples. To the Occidental mind the cunning of the Japanese is almost incomprehensible. In trying to induce the Cabinet Ministers to sign the treaty no stone was left unturned. Every phase of intimidation, cajolery, reasoning and bribery was resorted to. Marquis Ito, Minister Hayashi, Japanese Minister in Seoul, and Marshal Hasegawa, the Commander of Japanese soldiers in Korea, took their turns in grilling the ministers through this "third degree," using every means short of actual violence. But every one of the Ministers stood firm. The Japanese were determined to give the Cabinet no time to gather its strength, and the grilling went on till the night of November 17 when the Cabinet meeting was held in the palace.

Meanwhile, the Japanese soldiers in Seoul were fully prepared to carry out the plans of Marquis Ito. The army in the district was mobilized; streets were guarded with machine guns; the field guns commanded strategic points; the soldiers marched through the streets and around the palace, and the Government buildings, fully armed. All this had a sinister meaning to the Emperor and his Cabinet Ministers. They well remembered the fateful night in 1895 when the Japanese surrounded the palace of the Queen and murdered her. Japan had done this before; why could she not do it again?

That night Japanese soldiers and gendarmes threw a cordon around the palace where the ill-fated Cabinet

meeting was being held. The very courtyard of the palace was filled with gleaming bayonets of the soldiers, and the rattling of the swords could be heard in the Cabinet Chamber. Now Marquis Ito arrived with Marshal Hasegawa, Commander of the Japanese army in Korea, and demanded an audience with the Emperor. This was refused. Thereupon the Marquis went outside to the Ministers and said, "Your Emperor has commanded you to confer with me and settle this matter." A fresh attack was started on the Ministers. Finally the argument boiled down to "Agree with us and be rich, or oppose us and perish," and thereupon Marshal Hasegawa drew his sword. "Cut us down if you dare!" said the Prime Minister Han Kew Sul, the ablest Korean statesman at that time. "We will show you," retorted the Marshal, and the Japanese officers dragged the Premier out into a side room. The rest of the Cabinet members thought that the Premier was killed, and their turn would come next. They had fought for days and fought alone. No single foreign representative had offered them help or counsel. Now their leader was gone, and their cause was a lost one. They saw submission or destruction before them. "Nothing can be saved by our dying," said one of them. At the end of the all-night conference in the palace, three of the Ministers gave their signatures to the treaty. The Emperor and Premier Han Kew Sul never consented to it.

The news of the signing of the treaty was received with horror and indignation by the people. In many

places people rose *en masse* to fight the Japanese, but of this I shall speak later in another chapter. The *litterati* of the country petitioned the Emperor to annul the treaty and punish the traitors. But the three Ministers who gave signatures to the foreclosing of the life of their nation were protected by Japanese soldiers; they were the most abject creatures in the land, hated even by the members of their own families. Many high officials, the most distinguished of whom was Prince Min Yong Whan, a former Minister of War and special Korean Ambassador at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, committed suicide as a means of protest—an Oriental custom of passive resistance. All this carried no effect. Japan had the most invincible of all arguments—force. The *Whang Sung News*, a Korean daily in Seoul, expressed the sentiment of the people in its editorial as follows:

When it was recently made known that Marquis Ito would come to Korea, our deluded people all said with one voice that he is the man who will be responsible for the maintenance of friendship between the three countries of the Far East (Japan, China and Korea), and believing that his visit to Korea was for the sole purpose of devising good plans for strictly maintaining the promised integrity and independence of Korea, our people, from the seacoast to the capital, united in extending to him a hearty welcome.

But, oh! How difficult is it to anticipate affairs in this world. Without warning a proposal containing five clauses was laid before the Emperor, and we then saw how mistaken we were about the object of Marquis Ito's visit. However, the Emperor firmly refused to have anything to do with these proposals, and Marquis Ito

should then, properly, have abandoned his attempt and returned to his own country.

* * * * * * *

Is it worth while for any of us to live any longer? Our people have become the slaves of others, and the spirit of a nation which has stood for 4,000 years, since the days of Tan-Koon and Kija, has perished in a single night. Alas! fellow-countrymen, alas!

The paper was promptly suppressed, and the editor put in prison.

Korea was Japan's ally instead of an enemy, so it was not even a vindictive action on the part of the victor. It was a plain case of Japan's breaking her sacred pledge and betraying an ally and friend who trusted her implicitly in order to carry out her program of imperial expansion. "We must have Korea as an integral part of our Empire, regardless of everything else, so that we may realize our national dream of Pan-Asiatic doctrine," said Japanese statesmen among themselves at that time. Subsequent events have proved that they were right.¹

In the summer of 1907 the Emperor of Korea, virtually a prisoner at the hands of the Japanese, secretly sent a delegation to the Hague Conference to appeal to the Powers for the restoration of the independence of

¹ For fuller details on the establishment of the Japanese Protectorate over Korea, see F. A. McKenzie, *Tragedy of Korea*, Chap. XI, "Treaty-making and Treaty-breaking," *idem*, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, Chap. V, "The New Era." For Chinese and Korean sources on the subject, Park In Sick, *The Tragic History of Korea* (Chinese edition, Shanghai, 1915, and *Korean History* (Korean edition, Shanghai, 1919), prepared by the Korean Historical Commission, are among the best.

Korea. The envoys failed in securing a hearing, but that instance furnished an ample excuse to the Japanese authorities in Korea to complete their iron rule. Pressure was brought to bear upon the old Emperor to abdicate in favour of his son, who was mentally deficient, and whom the Japanese knew they could surround with controlling influences. Arguments and threats were used, the old Emperor was told that if he did not consent he and the Royal Family would be forcibly dethroned and perhaps executed. Such threats being without sufficient force, the Japanese threatened to do dire things to the people and the country. Finally, worn out and bewildered, the old Emperor did abdicate in favour of this mental incompetent on July 19, 1907. Five days later, with this mental deficient on the throne, Japan published an alleged treaty with Korea, by the provisions of which Japan took control of all the branches of the Korean Government. The Government of Korea must "act under the guidance of the Resident-General in respect to reforms in administration;" it must not "enact any laws, ordinances or regulations or take any important measures of administration without the previous assent of the Resident-General." Further, the consent of the Resident-General was to be obtained for the appointment or removal of high officials, and the Korean Government was to "appoint as Korean officials the Japanese subjects recommended by the Resident-General."¹

At the time of the establishment of the Japanese

¹ For full text of the treaties between Korea and Japan, see the author's *Korean Treaties* (New York, 1919).

alleged Protectorate over Korea, the Japanese Government assured the outside world, and especially the Korean people, that the Protectorate was more or less a temporary measure better to insure peace in the Orient and to assist the Korean Government until the latter should be more stabilized. Further, it was explicitly provided that the Japanese Government should "guarantee to maintain the security and respect the dignity of the Korean Imperial Household." Even these pledges were swept aside when Japan forced the abdication of the former Korean Emperor in 1907, and finally annexed the country to the Japanese Empire in 1910, making it into a province, Chosen. W. W. Willoughby, the well-known diplomat and historian, commenting on this period of Korean history, says:

It is evident that Korea had now, to all intents and purposes, passed completely under the control of Japan. Japanese high officials continued to assert, however, that there was no intention upon the part of their Government to annex Korea. In 1908 this was publicly asserted by Prince Ito, the Resident-General at Seoul. In 1910, nevertheless, Japan deemed that the time had come formally to take Korea unto herself, and this was made known to the world in the treaty of August 29.¹

If this whole case of Japan's occupation of Korea were put up to an international jurist, his first question would be: How did Japan secure this militaristic grip on Korea? Under what right or authority, or how did she get her armies into Korea in the first place?

¹ W. W. Willoughby, "Japan and Korea," *The Unpartizan Review*, January, 1920, p. 28.

The reply would be that Japan entered Korea with her armies under the treaty of February 23, 1904, which provided that:

Article III. The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

The conclusion would then be that Japan's original entry into Korea and her original possession of Korea was that of a guardian taking possession of the property and person of his ward.

The international jurist would then want to know whether Japan has ever surrendered the property back to the ward, leaving the ward free to act without coercion, and the answer would be that she has not, that her armies are still there. The next question would be: What has become of the property of the ward entrusted to the care of the guardian, and the answer would be that the guardian has embezzled and converted it to his own use. Then would come the final question: What has become of the person of the ward? And the world will have to answer: Japan is strangling her to death.

III

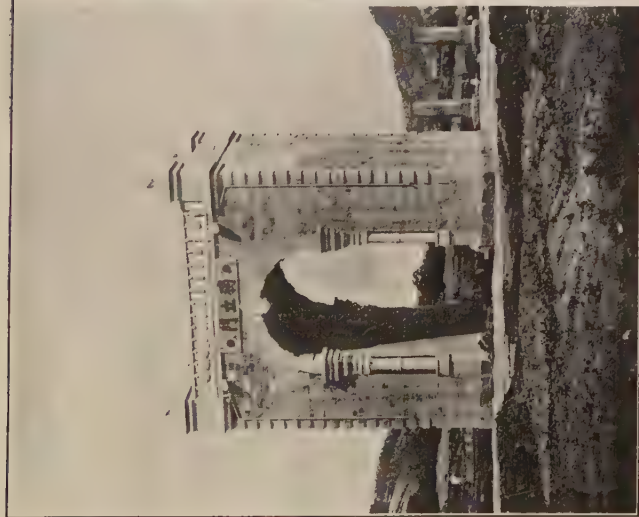
POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL OPPRESSION

AFTER the country was formally annexed, all the impediments which had hitherto stood in the way of Japanese administrative policy were swept aside. Extra-territoriality was abolished, and foreign residents, who had enjoyed the protection of their own Governments, were placed along with the Koreans under Japanese laws. General Seiki Terauchi, the former Minister of War of Japan, came to Korea to assume the title of the Governor-General of Korea. He is a professional militarist by training and experience and an ardent believer in the policy of carrying out the will of Dai Nippon by sword and fire. He was given unlimited power by the Japanese Government to accomplish this end. He was made responsible neither to the Cabinet nor to the Diet, but only to the Emperor of Japan. Nominally, important measures adopted by him in his administration of Korea had to be approved by the Emperor before they became permanent, but not a single act of his was ever vetoed by the Emperor. Thus, he was, in practice, the lawgiver, the chief executive, the commander-in-chief of army and navy, and the highest tribunal.

With this authority of dictatorship, General Terauchi promptly reversed the lenient policy of assimilation first adopted by Marquis Ito, and launched his mailed-fist method of moulding Koreans into Japanese

—an inferior brand of Japanese—by force and coercion. “The Koreans must submit to our rule or perish,” was the slogan of both General Terauchi and his successor, Marshal Hasegawa, in their administration of Korea. With systematic thoroughness they sought to change everything that was Korean into Japanese. They even went so far as to change the names of places. Thus, Korea became Chosen; Seoul (the capital), Keijo; Pyeng Yang, Heijo; etc., according to Japanese pronunciation of Chinese characters. And woe to any one who stood in their way, for a mysterious method would soon be found to make him “disappear.” And in Korea under Japanese rule if a Korean incurs the displeasure of Japanese authorities and is made to “disappear,” he seldom reappears.

Korean officials in important positions were swept aside, and Japanese were introduced to take their places. In case Koreans were left in responsible positions, which was done occasionally to have a pretext in official year books and to show Western tourists that Japan allows Koreans a share in the administration of Korea, their actions were governed absolutely by a Japanese “Adviser” and the Korean Governor or Magistrate could not do the least thing without the sanction of his “Adviser.” In case a Korean Governor or a Magistrate disregarded the will of the Japanese “Adviser” under him, he would be removed from his office promptly. From time immemorial every Korean town has elected its own mayor, and the Central Government has never interfered with this privilege of local self-government. The



THE INDEPENDENCE ARCH OUTSIDE SEOUL

Erected by the Independence Club at the time the Korean King was Crowned Emperor of Korea on October 12, 1897, at Imperial Round Hill.



GRANITE BUDDHA

70 Feet High and 30 Feet in Diameter, of the Sila Dynasty, over a Thousand Years Ago. It Took Koreans Twenty Years to Build this Stone Image.

Japanese have taken away even this right. In a number of large cities Japanese mayors were placed in control of affairs, and in other cities the local gendarmerie (now police) conduct the administration. In a remarkable paper prepared by a British resident of Korea and presented to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1919, the writer states:

It was fondly hoped by Koreans that as the years went by and their stronger men acquired more experience and were educated under the Japanese administration, the higher official positions would be thrown open to them. The opposite has been the policy and practice of the Japanese. In 1910 six out of thirteen provincial governors were Korean, now there are only three. At that time all district magistracies were held by Koreans, now at least one-seventh of the largest districts are governed by Japanese magistrates, and even in some places the village provostship has been transferred to Japanese hands. The number of judgeships that have gone to the Koreans is very small, and all school principals are Japanese. The story is the same in every public department. But it is not only in the filling of offices that the discrimination appears, but also in the dignity and the remuneration attaching thereto. The Japanese officials of the same rank receive forty per cent. higher salaries than the Koreans, and in addition, allowances for colonial service. This may happen in the case of men who graduate from the same school.¹

Laws that govern Japanese subjects in Korea are identical with those in Japan proper. But for Koreans the Japanese administration applies a different code

¹ *The Korean Situation* (pamphlet issued by the Council), p. 115.

of justice. Their explanation is that the Korean is not advanced enough to enjoy the high code of legal justice as is the Japanese. The laws and regulations that govern the minutest phase of the Korean's life must be made and administered by the Japanese overlords. And he is not permitted to complain. The country is completely covered with a network of officialdom, so that not only overt acts, but secret thoughts that are in any way inimical to Japanese, must not be entertained by Koreans. An American writer, who visited Korea after the alleged Reforms of 1919 were introduced by Japanese to abolish the old abuses, writes:

Fair promises have come repeatedly both from Tokyo and the Governor-General in Seoul, but the reforms have been slight. What relief there has been has served only to throw into higher light the lack of any change of real value, and such as it is, it has been hedged about with so many reservations as to be well-nigh meaningless. The basic grievances of the Koreans remain untouched. They are still at the mercy of the military officials and of the numberless police. The most minute phases of their existence are still in the absolute control of a multitudinous and autocratic bureaucracy: 17,000 officials for a population of 17,000,000, compared with 1,200 in India for a population of 300,000,000.¹

Habeas corpus is unknown in Korea, and every man is considered guilty until he proves his innocence. The law courts in Korea are a part of the administrative system under the Governor-General. The ju-

¹ Nathaniel Peffer, "Korea," in the *New Republic*, March 10, 1920, p. 56.

diciary, instead of being independent and a bulwark of liberty for those oppressed by other branches of the administration, as it is in America and Great Britain, forms a part and parcel of the system. The judges, the nominees of the Governor-General, cannot be expected, under the circumstances, to be unbiased. They have the absolute authority to select the evidence they will admit. The defendant has no right to call witnesses on his own behalf. He may have a complete defense and not be allowed to present it. He can only make request that witnesses be called, and the judges grant the application or not as they see fit. The judges' action is not subject to review by a higher court. The absurd extent to which this discretionary power of the trial judges is carried is illustrated in the following judicial decision:

It belongs to the authority exclusively of the judges concerned to decide whether in the trials of a criminal case the examination of a given evidence is necessary or not. This authority of the judges is not to be circumscribed at all by the nature, kind or degree of importance of the particular evidence.

This discretionary power of the judges applies also to the production of documents or other like evidence. Furthermore, the Japanese language is the official language of the land, and all court proceedings must be carried on in that tongue. In a recent case where a British subject was prosecuting a number of Japanese policemen and gendarmes for an unprovoked and murderous assault, the Japanese interpreter persist-

ently spoke of a British passport as a pocketbook, presumably to make the crime less obnoxious and punishable. If this could occur in open court, where the interests of an alien were involved, how often must it occur where Korean interests are involved, where the person doing the interpreting is of less high standing, and it is known to all that the Korean is without redress in case of injustice? Then, all of the judges and procurators (state's attorneys) are Japanese, for since the annexation a Korean lawyer has become a very rare person. In cases where Koreans and Japanese are involved, it is a foregone conclusion that the Koreans do not obtain a shadow of justice.

Perhaps the worst feature of the Japanese legal system in Korea is the judiciary power given to the police. Police officers of a dominating power in a dependent country are seldom of high calibre. They are prone to ride roughshod over the helpless natives. But in Korea the Japanese police are given power to treat the native as their legitimate victim. The following extract taken from the Japanese Government report, *The Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, will give the reader some idea of the extraordinary power given to the police:

The police authorities sometimes have to participate in judicial affairs; to act as public bailiffs in distraining property and often to serve as procurators in district courts.

The police authorities can inspect the residence of any private individual wherever there

is a suspicion of the concealment of firearms or gunpowder, or *when they deem it necessary*.

That the authorities thus boldly publish such items as this in a book given up to extolling their good works in Korea, would seem to indicate an utter ignorance that such actions by the police are infractions of human rights common to the people of all civilized countries. But a comment more to the point is taken from the *Japan Chronicle*:

In the course of interpellations put forward by a certain member in the last session of the Diet, he remarked on the strength of a statement made by a public procurator of high rank in Korea, that it was usual for a gendarme, who visits a Korean house for the purpose of searching for a criminal, to violate any female inmate of the house and to take away any article that suits his fancy. And not only had the wronged Koreans no means of obtaining redress for this outrageous conduct, but the judicial authorities could take no proceedings against the offender as they must necessarily depend upon the gendarmerie for acceptable evidence of crime.

The Japanese procurator may assert that such action by the gendarmerie is usually a gross exaggeration. There is certainly nothing to prevent such abuses, and the statement that the Korean people have no redress against the police oppression is literally true. Since the police are empowered to search any home without warrant "*when they deem it necessary*," is there any reason to assume that they would not do it?

A most serious phase in the matter of judicial administration in Korea is the fact that the system gives

no assurance for justice to any one who may be caught in its toils. Nowhere in the whole process has there been any attempt to safeguard the innocent, but, on the other hand, there are six things that make it practically impossible to clear a person against whom a case has been made. They are as follows:

1. The right of the police to arrest without due process of law. No warrant is required for arrest. Neither the prisoner, his attorney, his family, nor his friends have any way of ascertaining the charge, if any, on which the arrest and detention is made. Bail is not often allowed, and not at all during the preliminary investigation. The right of habeas corpus is unknown.

2. Presumption of guilt. Instead of following the true legal maxim that "every man is considered innocent until proven guilty," the official and popular attitude is the very reverse of this, and the Japanese newspapers refer to the accused as criminals. The expression "proving the guilt" of the accused is never heard. In case of acquittal, it is said that he "proved his innocence" or was pardoned.

3. Right of counsel is denied. An accused person is not allowed to talk with a lawyer or with others about his defense until after the police investigation and the hearing before the procurator (prosecuting attorney) has been concluded. During this period of investigation the accused is in the hands of the police with all access to the outside world completely cut off, and the sole object of the police is to make a case that will insure conviction. Indeed, before a lawyer can participate in the case a written record is made up which is used as evidence, and in the discretion of the judges may be the only evidence that can be introduced at the trial. Under

such circumstances, the accused, being without counsel, is in a pitiable situation, for who will shape his defense; who will match the trained minds and shrewd wits of the officers of the law; who will keep him from being an easy prey to legal traps; and who will there be to challenge illegal acts and procedure?

4. Secret police investigation. Here is the very citadel of this iniquitous system. It is beyond dispute that the police use threats, deception and all forms of physical and mental torture to secure admissions of guilt or in their efforts to gain incriminating evidence against others. When such admission or evidence is obtained, it is reduced to writing, signed by the accused, and becomes the basis for inquiry both before the procurator and the trial judge. One would expect that the court would look upon such testimony with suspicion, and that unless it was confirmed or corroborated in open court, it would be thought an insufficient basis for conviction. On the contrary experience shows that it is almost impossible to get the judges to give credence to evidence tending to overthrow false admissions made under the pressure of the secret police investigation. The police court has practically the determination of the guilt or innocence of the accused. The police can and do hold accused persons in their custody for months without trial or giving them an opportunity to consult with counsel or friends. During this time they apply such methods as they choose in order to secure from the accused admissions of guilt. The one official reply to the charge that torture is practiced during police examination is that the law does not permit of such practice, and therefore, it cannot exist.

When "police" are thus mentioned it should be recalled that this term includes the vast secret serv-

ice and espionage system built up by the Japanese in Korea, than which a more extensive or oppressive system, it is safe to say, does not exist anywhere else in the world.

5. Collusion between police and procurator. The procurator acts as prosecuting attorney when the case is tried, but in advance of this the prisoners are brought before him for preliminary examination. After this examination he has the authority to reverse the police findings. However, the police report quoted above is authority for the statement that the police often serve as procurators. In such cases the hearing must be mere empty form. A Japanese lawyer in the course of his argument on a very important case said: "This case convinces me that the police and procurators are one and the same." This makes the procurators only the mouthpiece of the police. Once in the hands of the police, the result is a foregone conclusion.

6. Biased Judges. The process verbal from the police court and procurator is used as evidence on the trial before the judges. Judges are required to familiarize themselves with this record before the hearing begins. Thus they form their opinions before the defendant or his counsel can be heard. Such bias is sufficient to disqualify a juror under American or British systems, but in Korea, it is required of those who are to be both judge and jury.¹

To this must be added the fact that the accused has no right to set up and develop his defense in open court as has been referred to. We already have a

¹Taken from an unpublished manuscript prepared by an American who has been a long resident of Korea, and who has personally witnessed the workings of the Japanese legal machinery in Korea.

fairly good outline of the Japanese legal system in Korea. If the whole system is thus deficient in theory, what could be expected in the way of practical results? Is it any wonder that the Koreans look upon the courts as machinery of oppression? The judicial power given to the police to execute judgments without trial on minor offenses is known as "Summary Judgment." The following table will indicate the proportion of the number of cases handled by the police in this fashion.

In 1913 there were 21,483 convictions without a trial out of 36,953.

In 1914 there were 32,333 convictions without a trial out of 48,763.

In 1915 there were 41,236 convictions without a trial out of 59,436.

In 1916 there were 56,013 convictions without a trial out of 81,139.

The number of those who proved their innocence in the years above tabulated were, respectively, 800, 93, 47 and 30. To quote from the Japanese official report for 1916-17, page 126:

The total number of criminal cases decided during the year 1916 by police summary judgment reached 56,013, involving 82,121 offenders, being an increase of 14,777 cases and 21,750 offenders over those of the preceding year. Of the persons implicated in these cases, 81,139 were sentenced, 30 proved their innocence, and the remaining 952 were pardoned.¹

It is evident that crime, or what the Japanese consider

¹ Quoted by Senator George W. Norris, *Congressional Record*, October 14, 1919.

crime, is increasing, and yet the number of those who prove their innocence is correspondingly decreasing under the Japanese legal system in Korea. That only thirty proving their innocence out of 82,121 accused is unparalleled in any other legal record in the whole world. Especially is it significant when we consider that the Korean people are noted for their peaceful and patient nature, and that Japan assured the outside world that she went into Korea with the professed intention of uplifting the welfare of the Koreans.

The secret torture during "preliminary examinations," and the flogging ministered by the police as means of punishment are described in the following chapters and are omitted here in the discussion of the administrative system. The most powerful witness that I can summon to my assistance to corroborate the foregoing statements is Bishop Herbert Welch, formerly the President of Ohio Wesleyan University, now the Resident Methodist Bishop for Korea and Japan, at Seoul, Korea. Bishop Welch's close relations with Japanese officials naturally make him very conservative in his statements regarding what the Japanese are doing in Korea, and, of course, he would not say anything over his signature that could not be proved beyond all question. Says the Bishop:

The judicial system prevailing in Korea demands extended discussion by itself. . . . The Government-General, and, on occasion, the Governor-General, may issue laws and ordinances which become immediately effective. They are subject to the veto of the throne, but are operative until thus countermanded. The estab-

lishment and abolition of the courts are in the hands of the Governor-General, who seems, on occasion, to direct what decisions shall be reached.

Police summary judgment, as the system is called, disposes of tens of thousands of cases of minor offenses each year. In the last year for which statistics are available, 82,121 cases were handled by this plan, which gives the power of judgment to police officers rather than to any court. Of these, thirty persons proved their innocence, 952 were pardoned, and 81,139 were sentenced. A large proportion of these were punished by flogging. The handicaps on the chance of securing justice from the Korean courts themselves have been enumerated as seven: first, arrest without due process of law; second, presumption of the guilt of any person arrested; third, no right of counsel until after the first hearing; fourth, secret investigations and torture by the police; fifth, unity of action between the procurator, who hears the case, and the police; sixth, judges biased by the use of the written record from the procurator's examination before the hearing in their own court begins; and seventh, the power of the judges to give absolute and final decision as to the admission of any offered evidence.

When the various facts to which I have thus briefly referred are taken together, it becomes apparent that the conditions under which Americans have been willing to live in war time are very much the conditions which prevail in Korea all the time; in other words, that we live there under what is practically martial law.¹

¹ "The Korean Independence Movement of 1919," *The Christian Advocate* (New York), 94: 1006, August 7, 1919.

IV

THE OFFICIAL "PADDLE"

FROM the preceding chapter the reader will have formed an idea of the extraordinary judicial power in the hands of the police. It was also noted that in exercising this power "preliminary examinations," conducted before the prisoner is tried at all, and "summary judgment," rendered without due process of law, sprang up as by-products of the system. Secret tortures are applied during "preliminary examinations" to compel the prisoner to make statements that Japanese police call "confessions," on the strength of which the prisoner is convicted in open court. But this phase of the Japanese administration will be dealt with later in the book. In this chapter attention is called to the infliction of corporal punishment in the form of flogging after conviction.

Flogging is illegal in Japan proper, and it is never used to punish the Japanese subjects in Korea. But it is reserved as a special favour for Korean prisoners—especially political prisoners—to wear out the morale of the people. The Japanese excuse in maintaining this form of barbarous punishment is that it was "the old Korean custom." They do not seem to realize the incongruity of their pretexts. Their pre-

text for annexation was to better the condition of the Korean people. Their publications and spokesmen proclaim loudly all the benevolent reforms that have been introduced in Korea. Yet they claim that they are retaining flogging, administered only to the Korean, because it was "the old Korean custom." In that case they are discarding everything that is good and worth saving and retaining everything that is bad and barbarous.

Flogging was used by the Korean courts in the past only in the case of hardened criminals, where mere imprisonment would have little effect. The Koreans never used the system of fines. The theory was that the rich must pay the penalty and be responsible to the law as well as the poor. If fines were used as a mode of punishment in criminal cases, the rich would have preference over the poor. The entire legal system in old Korea was based on custom and precedents similar to the English Common Law. Justice was simple, and criminals were rare. Flogging was used, but it was never used on such an extensive scale as at present by the Japanese, nor to such a severe degree. Indeed, flogging in the old Korean court, compared with the present day Japanese flogging in Korea, was like a mild rash to cholera. The nature of the flogging administered by the Japanese police can better be ascertained by reading the following description given by Dr. Frank W. Schofield, a Canadian medical missionary to Korea, who has made an extensive investigation of the system and its effect upon Korean victims.

The methods employed by the Japanese in dealing with the Korean agitators have not only been severe, but unnecessarily brutal and barbarous. Their object has been to terrorize, and this has been well accomplished. I was talking to a bright young lady this morning, a school-teacher. She told me how she had been thrown to the ground by her hair, kicked all over and then tied to a tree from 10:30 in the morning to sundown—all for calling *Mansei*.¹ This by a supposedly educated Japanese gendarme! I saw an old man two days ago whose three sons and three grandsons were taken out of his house, tied in a row and then bayoneted to death for shouting, "Long Live Korea." He begged the soldiers to kill him, but they refused. He is now going insane. Think of it! The youngest grandson was only fifteen years old. But these are the methods employed by militaristic Japan in maintaining law and order amongst an unarmed people. I saw a schoolgirl who had a sword cut on her back; she had been attacked by a high officer. I have seen a boy whose leg was burnt with hot irons to make him give information, and a man who was hung up by one finger to the ceiling for the same purpose. Two women were killed; one shot and the other sabred because the officer said they were stubborn and would not obey orders. Their orders were to go home while the Japanese troops murdered their husbands.

But I am going to tell you about something else—police beatings; eleven thousand people have been beaten by the police since this movement for Independence. First, let us clearly understand what is meant by the term "police beating." The instrument of beating is a special bamboo rod, made by tightly tying together with hemp twine a number (two or more) of bamboo strips; this gives the necessary flexibility, when bruising and not

¹ *Mansei* was the old national battle cry—"May Korea Live Ten Thousand Years."



THE OLD AND THE NEW KOREA

Prince Min Yong Whan, Former Minister of War and Social Ambassador at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Who Committed Suicide at the Time the Protectorate was Forced upon Korea in November, 1905, that He Might Not Survive His Country's Fall.



Son Byung Hi, Who Headed the List of the Thirty-three Immortals and Led the Fight for Freedom against Japanese Tyranny in March, 1919.

breaking the tissues is desired. The form or rack used in beating is made something like a cross, so that the outspread arms of the criminal can be tightly secured. The trunk and legs are also fastened in a way which makes motion impossible. The individual to be beaten is firmly secured on the cross; the clothes removed from the region of the buttocks, and the rod laid on according to the strength of the men who administer the punishment. Before such a procedure, there is supposed to be an examination of the patient by the police doctor, but this does not often happen.

Let me recite to you the story of Mr. Sur—just as he gave it to me. Take time reading it. Try and pass through his experience; then coolly make your decision—civilized or uncivilized?

The Demonstration: "I am a native of Kangkei, a small town amongst the mountains, and being so far away from the town where demonstrations for Independence had occurred, we were late in starting. However, we planned for a real good demonstration on April the 8th. We had given out circulars, and had made all arrangements; then at the given time from one end of the town to the other all shouted, 'Long Live Korea.' We had no weapons, sticks or stones, but the police, without any warning, opened fire on us, killing four and wounding eight. This violent attack scattered us, and ended the demonstration. Two women were down by the river washing after this had happened, when two soldiers walking past, without provocation, fired; the younger woman was shot through the head, the second shot whizzed past the ear of the other woman and scared her badly. The soldiers did not fire any more but went away.

Arrest and Beating: "On April 22nd I was arrested, and after being kept some days in jail, was sent on to New Weiiju with ten other young men. We had our

trial at Weiju on May 4th, and were all recommended to get six months' imprisonment. On May 11th we received our sentence, which had been altered to a police beating of ninety blows. Thirty blows were to be given on three successive days. Realizing what this meant we all appealed, but were told that there was no such thing as an appeal from a police beating; that we must take it, and we would soon be home again. Our remonstrance was useless; we had to submit and were made to put our finger prints to a document, saying that we were satisfied with our sentence and were justly punished.

"Beatings were given on May 16th, 17th and 18th—thirty strokes on each day. The policemen beat us up to the limit of their strength. They would lift up the foot, and leaning well back, would bring the cane down with tremendous force. Frequently, three policemen would administer the punishment. One man would give ten strokes, then another, and finally, a third would administer the last ten. The pain was terrible, especially the last two beatings. Blood was drawn at the first beating, and yet we knew that we had more to come. The expectation was in itself terrible, apart from the physical suffering. After the second beating our flesh was like jelly, and pain on receiving the last thirty strokes was frightful. On May 18th we were given the last beating and were turned loose. We could hardly walk, but finally managed to get to a cheap boarding house. There is a Japanese hospital in town, but we would just as soon go back to jail as to go there. We were not allowed to go to the Danish Hospital, as this was across the river at Antung in China. I went out and brought some Korean medicine which we used, but with no success. Six of the boys seemed to be seriously ill; they could not eat, could hardly stand, and were suffering most terribly. On the afternoon of May 22nd, we decided that we would go to the Mission Hospital at Syen Chun, some two

hours' ride on the train. I could walk fairly well, but some of the others were in a terrible condition, so with two of the stronger men, we three brought the six very sick men down to the hospital. They had great difficulty in getting on the train, and of course, could not sit down, but had to lie along the seat. Arriving at Syen Chun, we got the men off the train, and on wagons brought them up to the hospital."

This is briefly the story of the lad given to me on May 25th. I will continue the story of these cases from the statement of those who nursed them at the hospital.

Nurses' Statement: Mr. Pak—"he was a young man of twenty-one, a graduate of the Kangai Middle School and had been employed as language teacher to a newly arrived missionary. He was never a very strong man—slender in form and delicate, but mentally bright. We operated on him early May 23rd, removing large pieces of gangrenous tissue. Peritonitis had already set in, and he passed away in great pain about twelve o'clock the same day. The greater part of the buttocks had become gangrenous. Death was due to septic peritonitis and exhaustion from excessive pain."

Mr. Kim—"he, also, was from Kangkei, a well put together husky young man of nineteen years. He was in terrible pain, groaning constantly. The operation seemed to help him quite a little, and he begged to be operated on again. His buttocks were frightfully infected, and much dead tissue had to be removed. While coming out of the anæsthetic, he constantly shouted, 'Long Live Korea,' 'Long Live Korea.' At times he seemed to be better, but peritonitis developed, and on Sunday, May 25th, he died. His brother, who had been summoned, arrived a few hours before he passed away. On seeing his brother, he called out, 'I shall get well now that you have come; let's have a talk.' Constantly during the afternoon he would bite at the tips of his

fingers. I did not know for what reason, and, of course, pulled his hand away from his mouth. Just before he died, he again made a great effort and managed to get his little finger into his mouth but had not the strength to bite. He looked at me so anxiously, but I could not think what he wanted, so offered him a sip of water which he refused. He whispered, 'I don't mind dying, but I had hoped to see my country free first.' Then an elder, who was standing near, prayed and asked him if he knew Jesus, to which he said, 'Yes,' then closing his eyes he passed away. I afterwards found that he was trying to bite off the tip of his little finger, so that he could write the oath of Independence in his own blood as many a patriot had done."

A Japanese police doctor saw the corpse and remarked, "They should have known that a man like this (Mr. Pak) could not have borne such punishment." He also warned the doctor in charge not to state in the death certificate that he had been beaten to death, but to say he had died of peritonitis.

The jailer at New Wei ju was most annoyed when he heard that the boys had gone to a Mission Hospital, especially when two had died. He said that they could not have died of the beating. It must have been the operation.

The boys were buried together the following morning. The crowd of people sobbed with grief, and although overcome, it was all they could do to stop shouting once more, "Long Live Korea." A Korean flag was secretly placed upon the coffin, so after all they were buried like Korean patriots.

The world would never have known about these lads had they not gone to an American hospital. God only knows the hundreds who have been beaten, shot and bayoneted, to crawl home and die unattended and unknown. Is there no Japanese Red Cross, you ask? Oh

yes, we read of its activities sometimes in the local press, but its presence is only camouflage. Except in the case of Suwon, I never heard of its helping any poor Korean. These Christian boys are shot to be killed, not to be succoured and nursed back to health.

The Beaten Boys: I went to see and photograph the remaining four who from the first had been so sick. They presented an awful sight; their backs were raw and bleeding; large areas of the skin and underlying tissue had sloughed away. Every time the nurse touched the raw surface, the exposed muscle fibres twitched, and the poor fellows groaned in agony. The doctors held out hope for three of them, but the fourth was awfully sick; peritonitis was evident, and he being a weak lad, had little chance to fight his way through. You ask if beatings like this are common. Well, since the agitation for Independence, there have been eleven thousand people beaten. At first the authorities gave them only twenty or thirty blows each, but recently many have been receiving thirty blows in each of the three successive days.

My God! What pain and suffering these people do endure at the hands of their barbarous overlords. The skinned slaves of bygone days were happy compared to these people. They were born into slavery and expected nothing better, but these poor folks were born free, only to find themselves enslaved in an Egyptian bondage.

I have spoken to many educated and respectable Japanese about these brutal beatings and as to why it is not done to Japanese, and why it is continued in this day when humanitarian principles govern more and more the acts of people? The answer is always the same, "Oh, don't you know it is an old Korean custom?" I asked how they would like the Government of Japan to revert to some old Japanese customs in governing their people? Such questions, they reply, are foolish. Japan does not

do wrong, and if you think she does, you are anti-Japanese; you are a wicked alarmist.

The truth is this; the militaristic Japanese are still uncivilized and barbarous at heart, and so one constantly sees his real brutal, naked self appearing.

In this manner hundreds of thousands of Koreans have been flogged. An American resident of Korea, who is a close student of the Korean situation, writes:

In the Government report for 1913, the number of persons flogged after police trial is two-thirds of the entire number of persons put on trial. This item has not been published since, but using that as a basis for estimating the total number flogged by the police as a punishment for crime from 1913-1918 would be 294,000 persons, or about one to every fifty-nine Koreans in the land, including men, women and children. The courts also sentence to corporal punishment, but no statistics available, this number cannot be ascertained.

This estimate of the American resident in Korea is not far from actual facts. It is my information that, from January 1, 1913, to July 1, 1920, the so-called "convictions" of Koreans by the Japanese courts and by the "summary judgment" of the police, were 616,839, or one Korean in each thirty. The sentence of flogging was pronounced and administered to 278,087, or one Korean in each sixty-six. This is the "Record" made by Japanese. If we add, as we must, the thousands who have been flogged "unofficially" and with no record made, the estimate of the American resident from which I have quoted is no doubt very conservative.

From March 1, 1919, when the "Mansei" demonstrations began for the Independence Movement to July 20 of the same year, the number flogged by order of the gendarmes at "summary judgment" is 9,078, and that by order of the court, 1,514, making a total of 10,592. An editorial in *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, "The 'Paddle' in Korea," makes an amazing revelation of the Japanese practices in the Hermit Kingdom:

We have hitherto seen no reference in the Japanese press, for instance, to the subject of flogging, but we are glad to see that the *Seoul Press* has admitted to its columns a letter on this subject from a foreign resident in Korea, and, while the editor mildly deprecates the charge of cruelty made, he expresses agreement with the desire to see this form of punishment abolished. It is one of the official assumptions in Japan that the Japanese have a great sense of personal dignity. As an observant traveller once said, "There is no false modesty in Japan, but a terrible lot of false dignity." False or not, it is undoubtedly there, and we are told that the exclusion of flogging from the penal code is out of respect to this sense of dignity. It appears, however, that the Korean has no sense of dignity—at least, it is not respected, though General Hasegawa lately declared that it was only in matters of temporary administrative necessity that there is any difference recognized between Koreans and Japanese. It seems a fairly effective kind of racial discrimination. It was apparent to General Hasegawa that the writer of the complaint in the *Seoul Press* addressed an inquiry as to why this barbarous method of punishment was still used in Korea, and he received, through an interpreter, the reply, "Flogging is an old Korean punishment which we, like yourself,

who are educated, look upon as a barbarous method of punishment, but if we were to immediately do away with such a custom, it would cause a great deal of trouble and discontent amongst the Korean people. You must remember that we can govern only in accordance with the will and desire of those whom we govern."

A statement like this invites a good deal of comment. One is tempted to ask whether it is the will and desire of the people that those who had been in the enjoyment of occupancy of Crown lands for many generations should be expropriated without compensation; whether it is the will and desire of the Koreans that they be forbidden to start any joint-stock enterprise without Japanese partnership directing it; whether they love to be regulated in all sorts of details of their personal lives and livelihood on a rigid Japanese plan instead of the free and easy plan which they prefer and understand, but which the Japanese police do not like. Do they like being compelled to learn Japanese and being forbidden to travel abroad? In these and a hundred other matters the administration has shown not the slightest desire to consider the wishes or even the rights of the people, but we are told that the people so like being flogged by a Japanese jailer with a barbarous weapon that the system cannot be abolished. This is perfectly well understood by those who devised this abominable punishment—or, if it is not, they ought to try it for themselves. And again, the authorities who profess to mitigate the severity of the punishment by converting it into an exquisite torture—with tortures of suspense and anticipation between—also refuse to believe that men have died as a result of it.

* * * * *

But enough has been said to show how foolish is the policy pursued, and how entirely unfit are the men in authority to pursue the task of reconciling the people to

a change which was forced upon them. The military administrators seem utterly unable to conceive that the people for whose welfare they are responsible have any feelings at all, and they apparently fancy that everything that is right to their military minds must, also, appear right to the Koreans unless they are willfully recalcitrant. Their very excuses in this matter of flogging—that the Koreans insist upon having it, that to prolong the agony mitigates it, that it is only fatal if the victims of it are so foolish as to employ a Korean doctor to treat their wounds—show that they are incompetent to perform the task with which they are entrusted. But it must be understood that the mere appointment of a civilian instead of a soldier is not enough. A civilian with irresponsible powers and soldiers at his beck and call may conceivably be worse than a man who has had experience of war.

V

PRISONS AND PRISON TORTURES

IF there ever were a place on earth that could be called hell, it is the Japanese prison in Korea. When John Bunyan wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress* two hundred and forty-six years ago, he did not know that he was, in his description of the sufferings of the Faithful, prophesying the fate of the Korean political prisoners at the hands of the Japanese torturers in the twentieth century. The horrors and atrocities being committed by the Japanese officials are beyond belief, and their counterpart is found nowhere in the history of the world. The most tortuous period of the Czarist Russia never witnessed their equal. The Mediæval Inquisition was terrible, but it did not embody that scientific cruelty which the Japanese prison torturers in Korea employ, especially in dealing with political prisoners.

After a man has been arrested he is not permitted to see his friends or relatives or consult a lawyer until he is brought before the judge for trial. He may be kept indefinitely in prison and released without trial. During the confinement the prisoner is compelled to go through what is known as "preliminary examinations." This Japanized "third degree" is illegal in

Japan proper, nor is it practised on Japanese prisoners in Korea, but it is reserved for Korean prisoners, especially political prisoners, as a special favour. During the "preliminary examinations," unspeakable tortures are inflicted upon the prisoners, not by way of punishment after conviction, but in order to extract evidence by which to convict, which means that the innocent are tortured equally with the guilty.

Men and boys were trussed and suspended from the ceilings so that their weight hung on the shoulders. Thus they were raised and lowered till unconscious. They had their fingers pressed over red hot wires. Their naked flesh was lacerated with sharp hooks and seared with hot irons. Toe nails were torn from the flesh with pincers. Men were placed in a tight box and then screwed up. They were tied up, their heads forced back, and hot water or a solution of water and red pepper poured down their nostrils. Slivers of wood were shoved far under their finger nails. They were flogged until they had to be taken to hospitals, where big slabs of gangrenous skin had to be cut off. In many cases they were flogged to death. And some kinds of tortures employed are unprintable. This was not done once or twice, but it was done repeatedly for days and nights, hours at a time, until the victim confessed, whether he had anything to confess or not. There are cases where men have said yes to anything, ignorant even of what they had admitted.¹

Dr. J. W. Hirst, of Severance Hospital at Seoul, related to me when he was in America in April, 1920, that in his hospital alone, during the year of 1919, they had treated seventy-six cases of gangrene and

¹ Nathaniel Pfeffer, *The Truth About Korea* (pamphlet), p. 24.

skin grafting—all of whom were victims of the “preliminary examinations.”

Seldom, if ever, a man completely recovers from the effects of these tortures; many die in prison, and still more die after release. Those who survive become cripples for life. The following story of “a slender, timid, Christian youth, nineteen years old, employed by a shoemaker,” charged with circulating the *Independent News*, and forced through the “preliminary examination” at the police station, illustrates the fate of thousands of other prisoners. This story, as told by an American missionary, who is an eye witness, was made public along with other incidents at the New York Headquarters of the Presbyterian Church in America, on July 12, 1919, with the comment that:

What is reported here can be duplicated in scores of places in Korea, and some of the reports thus far received are even more harrowing than the ones we report. But, as they have not been definitely established by competent witnesses, we omit them, but confine ourselves strictly to incidents which are known beyond the shadow of a doubt to be true.

THE MISSIONARY'S TESTIMONY

“Word came to me soon after this that our shoe boy had been frightfully beaten and would die. . . . I went to see him yesterday at the hospital.

“The only reasons which can account for his being there are either that the police did not want him to die on their hands or wanted to prolong his torture, for he is miraculously recovering. I entered by the main office,

presented my card, and was shown to his room without any police interference, at which I was greatly surprised. I went in and saw a very sallow, sick boy—what must he have looked like five weeks before? . . .

“The following is his story. . . . It certainly is a miracle that he is living. On the day following his arrest he was questioned about complicity with the Korean Independence Movement. On refusal to reveal aught of the affair he was subjected to six hours of ‘examination’ spelling constant torture, for his arms were put into rings above the elbows until the upper body was greatly distorted—the usual preparation for beating. Beating and kicking were then administered until he fell fainting to the ground. He was given cold water to drink, and water was poured over his body to bring him to consciousness. Then more questions were plied, but the same refusal to reveal facts followed. Then physical collapse.

“I saw one sear on the upper part of the leg. It had been seared some five inches in length with a red hot iron. Of these he bears four. I saw the dead skin line of the welts that had been raised by blows on his hands. One hand, he said, had been swollen to twice its normal size. Two joints of one finger and two finger ends showed plainly the tale was all too true. His head is still sore from the blows received.

“Shortly, the doctor called on his regular rounds and seemed to take great pains in examining him. Turning to me, he said his chest and lungs were better. Was it exposure to cold that made his chest sore? No. He pulled his clothing down to examine further, and I saw that his whole abdominal region had been involved. A wound—whether by bayonet thrust or doctor’s incision I do not know—seemed to be healing. The doctor began by pressing, but after thirty-three days this boy was unable to endure even a slight touch from chest to groin and

from hip to hip. An ice bag was at his head for fever, body was quite wasted to the bone, and he was able only just to raise himself to a sitting posture.

"During the four days of torture and the subsequent two days of suffering at the police station a physician had been admitted to see him only three times. He was expecting to die and begged them to kill him. But God had another plan. After twenty days in the hospital he has hopes of recovery.

"I rode in a ricksha, as I had little time, and delivered him some eggs, apples, milk powder, a clean cover for his pillow and clothes. The transformation was wonderful, for the clothes he had on had the marks of his experiences from the first. A Korean nurse was in attendance during the visit; the reason I understood later.

"His soiled clothes were rolled up ready to take along. We had prayer, and I rose and was leaving the room when a coolie confronted us outside the door. He spoke to the sick boy and said, 'You must wait; you must not go.' About me he said I should go to see somebody. Imagine, please, what they were trying to work up against me—that I was trying to get the boy away in my ricksha. I was in for arrest.

"He calmly strode into the main office. Over a half hour elapsed ere anything happened. Imagine my terrible plight! I had purchased fish for dinner, and guests were expected. There really was little time to spare. However, I dispatched a woman with the fish and a note, and sat down to wait in patience. For the last thing to do in the Orient is to get flustered.

"I certainly was the object of much attention. I wondered how many soldiers would come to take me away, and whether they would let me ride or make we walk. Finally, my amused meditations were broken, not by khaki-clad, armed soldiers, but by a plain clothes Japanese detective, who had come in to interview me. I told

him all that I knew, and he was exceedingly mild towards me, when I tell you he was the one who at the police station almost tortured our shoe boy to death. He is the acknowledged spy on all foreigners and the official torturer of our schoolboys.

"The interview was brief; he saying that the sick boy was yet a prisoner and that hereafter, if I wished to visit him, I must first apply to the police for permission. It was like thin ice, seeing how far I could go without breaking through. I was really disappointed, for I thought I was going to get inside the jail for sure. A community 'phone call had been sounded, announcing that I was missing, and a member of the legal committee was about to set out for the police station when I returned.

"We foreigners enjoy little freedom, nor are we safe under the present Japan and United States agreements. . . .

"This case is not an isolated one. Scores, hundreds, of similar cases could be cited and fully substantiated. Every police station is a veritable hell on earth. Every human refinement in brutality is known there, and such brutality is perpetrated as would blister the tongue to utter. Men are known to have been beaten to death, and their bodies handed over to their relatives to bury. Others have been beaten until crippled for life, and then released, to be a burden on their families until the day of their death. . . .

"Note that the shoe boy had been in the hospital thirty-three days already when the interview was held. When will he be ready for trial? Still, it is understood that he is to receive nine months in the penitentiary. This was practically decided by the police officers even before he was brought to trial. The court simply goes through the form of trying him, and sentences him as the police have suggested.

“Occasionally, instead of imprisoning the men, they are let off with only ninety blows of the bamboo rod; and that this is no light matter you may well imagine. No man could endure it all at once, so the ninety blows are administered thirty per day for three successive days. A large number of cases now coming to the private hospitals are of men who have been thus beaten until they are nearly done for.

“All this in a land which boasts before the world of its thoroughly acquired modern civilization, an associate of the great allied nations of the world. . . . When will such mockery as this end and men be called what they really are?”¹

But by far the worst feature of the Japanese prison system in Korea—something for which the Koreans will never forgive the Japanese—is the treatment of women. Refined and cultured Christian young women, many of them college graduates, were dragged into prison on the charge either of being members of the Women’s Patriotic League or of cheering for Korean freedom, and were subjected to unspeakable insults and indignities. The following signed statement by an American resident in Korea, dated April 22, 1919, made public by the Presbyterian Church in America, referred to above, speaks for itself:

“The examination of women, who have been arrested for activity in the Independence Movement, is the most disgraceful and humiliating possible. It will have to be remembered, however, that the Japanese feel no shame when nude in the presence of the other sex. On the other hand, the Korean and Chinese women have the same

¹ *New York Times*, July 13, 1919.

feeling of delicacy as Europeans. They feel intense shame when seen by another.

"The Japanese know this, and so, when they put the Korean women in the question box—this, mind you, is before they are condemned at all—they are stripped absolutely naked. They are stripped, not after they go to the room where they are questioned, but in their rooms of confinement, and that by gendarmes.

"From here they have to walk across an open court where they can be seen by any one who pleases. Sometimes they are accompanied by a Japanese female, and sometimes not. It might also be said that each time they wash they have to take off the thin kimono which they wear in prison and stand naked before others while washing.

"Their arraignment is before men, of course, and the chief part of the examination is to make the pain of the humiliation just as intense as possible. Unmarried girls, as well as Bible women who have lived in homes of refinement and who have been used to nothing else than the courtesies due their sex, are thus outrageously treated. They are called bad women in the most revolting terms just because they have shouted in the street: 'Hurrah for Korea!'

"Some women, who tried to cover themselves, had their hands tied behind them. One Bible woman had her arm wrenched out of its socket by this process. . . .

"But this is not all. Some were kicked in the stomach and otherwise roughly treated by these fiendish men. Some of us have heard terrible tales about the German treatment of women in Belgium and France, and, though the awful depths have not yet been reached here, we see the training of the same school.

"In one section of the country the women are not safe in their homes during the day. They spend the day-time in the hills, and come to their homes only at night.

"The Japanese are great sticklers for the truth when it comes from others. So let others read and understand. We have here sworn statements from women thus treated which can be produced when needed."

Girls from Christian colleges fared the worst, and many of the girl prisoners were released without trial after indecent grilling. They made sworn statements to their American teachers and missionary friends. These independent statements are all similar tales. In the summer of 1919 at the Methodist Centenary Celebration at Columbus, Ohio, a returned missionary showed me six such testimonies collected from different parts of the country from witnesses who had never seen each other before. They make one's blood boil. "Were the conditions as they actually are to be fully reported, the report would be too horrible to relate," said my informant. The mass of documents on the Korean situation, laid before Congress and printed in the *Congressional Record*, July 17, 1919, touches this phase of the conditions in Korea. I have selected two statements from that issue of the *Record*, made by girl prisoners—one in Seoul and the other in Pyeng Yang, and subjoin them herewith. From these the reader may judge for himself the fate of other Korean women prisoners, thousands of them, in different parts of Korea.

One is by a girl prisoner from Ewa Hakdang, the American Methodist College for girls in Seoul:

It was on the 5th of March that I, with others, for the liberty of our land, formed into a procession at the South

Gate. As we neared the Palace, a Japanese policeman seized me by the hair, and I was thrown violently to the ground. He kicked me mercilessly, and I was rendered almost unconscious. He rushed me along by my hair, and I was led to the Chongno Police Station. At the entrance of the police office twenty or more Japanese policemen, who stood in line, kicked me and struck me with their swords and struck me in the face so many times that I did not realize whether they were beating me or some one else.

I was led into a room. They dragged me on the floor; they struck me in the face; they struck me with their swords; they flung me into one corner of the room. At this point I must have been unconscious, as I do not remember what happened after that.

On recovering my senses I found myself in a room packed with young men and women. I saw some of them handled so brutally it almost broke my heart. After some time we were cross-examined. I was made to kneel down with my legs bound together, and each question and answer was accompanied alternately by blows in the face. They spat in my face, this with curses and invectives of the worst kind.

I was ordered to expose my breasts. When I refused they tore my upper garments from me. They tied my fingers together and jerked them violently. I shut my eyes and dropped down to the floor. Thereupon, the examining officers uttered an angry roar and ordered me to kneel down as before, then rushed at me, seizing me by the breasts and shook me violently.

He said, "You want independence, eh? Preposterous thought! You will get independence when you are locked in jail. Your life will vanish with the stroke of the sword." He shook me fiercely by the hair. But he was not satisfied even with this, so he beat me on the head with a stick. He made me extend my hands and hold up

a heavy chair. If I let it drop, he would strike my elbow with a stick. He made me kneel down near a window pane; he would come and strike me. An hour or so passed in this manner, when I was told to go down-stairs. I found that I could not walk. I crawled on the floor with much difficulty, even with the help of one of their professional spies who followed me. As I made the first step my strength gave out, and so I rolled down stairs. I was again unconscious.

On recovering my senses I crawled into a room. The policeman in charge of the room was very much amused to see me crawling. He laughed loudly at my misery. I spent five days in all at the police station. Then I was sent to the West Gate penitentiary. There I was stripped naked and was looked at by the men. Then I was allowed to put on my dress and was led into a room. I was sneered at and cursed beyond my power to realize. In this room there were sixteen persons who were like myself. The room was not very large, and we were densely packed together. The toilet arrangements were placed in the open room.

On the second day a person called the police doctor and several others came in and weighed me stripped naked. They, too, sneered and spat upon me. Now and then I was told by the keeper there that I would be tried publicly. I looked forward to that with a great deal of consolation, as I thought I would have some chance to state my case without reserve, but I was let out one day without trial and without being told the nature of my offense, or indeed, that there had been legal offense.

The second statement is given by a Christian girl in Pyeng Yang, who is twenty-one years of age:

I was arrested on the streets of Pyeng Yang the 3rd of March and taken to the police station. There were many others, both men and women. They asked us if

we smoked, if we drank, and if we were Christians. Soon all were let out with little or no punishment, with the exception of twelve Methodist women, two Presbyterians and one Chundokyo woman. Three of the Methodist women were Bible women. They stripped all of the women naked in the presence of many men. They found nothing against me except that I had been on the street and had shouted, *Mansei*. They beat me until the perspiration stood out all over my body. Then they said, "Oh, you are hot," and then threw cold water over me. Then they stuck me with the lighted ends of their cigarettes.

My offense was considered very little compared with those who made flags, or took part in the independence parade. Some were beaten until they were unconscious. One young woman resisted having her clothes taken off. They tore off her clothing and beat her all the harder. After four days we were taken to the prison. Here we were packed in a room with men and women. One day an old man was beaten until he died. One of the Bible women was chained next to him. She asked to be moved, but they compelled her to watch the dead body all night. One of the Bible women not only had her hands bound, but had her feet put in stocks. They would not allow us to talk or pray. They made vile and indecent remarks to us.

All this was done by the Japanese. Though there were Korean policemen in the room they took no part in the beating or in the vileness. The Japanese know the Bible and blaspheme the name of Christ, and asked us if there was not a man by the name of Saul who was put in prison. They asked us most of all as to what the foreigners had said and were most vile and cruel to those who had been with the missionaries, or who had taught in the mission schools. Some of the girls were so changed that they did not look like human beings.

These disgusting instances of official lechery should be read with the consideration that in Korea female modesty is a matter of religion. Many thousands of Koreans have embraced Christianity, and behind that they have thousands of years of tradition calling for exaggerated chastity on the part of both men and women. The opportunity of combining business with pleasure, and oppression with satisfaction, was not lost upon the Japanese police. The Korean has a very high ideal of womanhood, and to be courteous to the weaker sex is his inborn trait. The women prisoners, some of them from best families in Korea, were subjected to indignities that would make the German soldiers in Belgium and Northern France blush with shame. The Japanese officers called them unspeakable names, accused them of being pregnant. "You can cut us open and see," retorted one of the girls. Some of the women arrested were compelled to kneel down on the floor and hold a heavy board at arm's length for hours. They were beaten whenever their arms trembled. One girl bowed her head to pray, and she was punished by three hours' standing. "As to what we girls passed through in heart during the ordeal makes us weep with agony," said one of the girls in relating her prison experience to her American teacher, "but as we did it for our country, we took the shame of it gladly. Had it been for any other cause we would have died first."¹

¹Two testimonies other than I have given above were printed in *Sacramento Bee* (Sacramento, Calif.) November 25, 1919, under the title, "Korean Girls Suffer Japanese Prison Torture."



Like the courageous Biblical Esther, who delivered her people from persecution, the Korean girls not only have exhibited the spirit of supreme sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the freedom of their people, but also have demonstrated a remarkable degree of courage and resourcefulness in their participation in the national movement.

After relating some of these tales in a magazine article—"The Jap Hun—Read His Record!" C. V. Emmons comments:

No business of America's? If this is the behaviour of Japan for a few months when she was showing the world her best behaviour—*what is her record for the years she has ruled in secret?* If she does these horrors upon people of her own colour—*what would she do to another race?* If her art and civilization and Occidental ideals let her act like this in peace—*how will she act in war?*¹

Where actual beating and torture are not employed, the prisoners are subjected to treatment repulsive in the extreme. Compelling prisoners, men and women, to bathe together in filthy water, is one of them. "We had to bathe, 140 persons in one tub," said one of the girl prisoners. "The water was so dirty, and it smelled so bad it made me dizzy." Apologizing for the Japanese officials for this phase of their treatment of the Korean prisoners, Peggy Hull, the girl war correspondent of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, on her return from the Far East in August, 1919, adds after relating the prison conditions in Korea:

In fairness to the Japanese I must say that in their own country men and women use the same dressing rooms and bathe indiscriminately in the same tub without regard to sex. They even go calling on their neighbours during the bathing hour and apparently think no more of the proceeding than we would of brushing our hair. Ko-

¹C. V. Emmons, "The Jap Hun—Read His Record," in *Uncle Sam* (New York), a monthly published for service men, by Guy Empey, January, 1920.

rean women, however, are extremely modest, and no such freedom of intimacy exists in Korean homes.¹

Filth and congestion are another feature of Japanese prisons in Korea. Japanese and Korean prisoners are separated in different quarters; Japanese being placed in rooms well lighted, ventilated and heated in winter, with only a few in a room, and Koreans huddled together in cells worse than dungeons. Prison conditions in old Korea may have been bad, but could not possibly have been as bad as now under Japanese rule. During the wholesale arrest of men and women in Seoul, March, 1919, in one of the prisons five women had to sleep under one quilt infested with vermin. In another prison "sixty people were confined in a room fourteen by eight feet, where they had to stand up all the time, not being allowed to sit or lie down. Eating and sleeping, they stood leaning against one another. The wants of nature had to be attended to by them as they stood. The secretary of one of the mission schools was kept for seven days in this room, as part of sixteen days' confinement, before he was released."² William R. Giles, the Peking correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, was in Korea April, 1919. In one of the prisons in Pyeng Yang he found more than thirty prisoners in one room, ten feet by six. During torture periods the prisoners were taken out to examination rooms which

¹ Peggy Hull in *San Bernardino Index* (San Bernardino, Calif.), August 8, 1919.

² F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, p. 285.

are quite spacious. And to add hypocrisy to brutality, "an official Japanese journal recently published an article about the Korean prison declaring it to be equal to a health resort and almost as well equipped as a technical school."¹

"The prisons . . . have been left unheated during the bitterest weather of winter. This has caused suffering and loss of life," says Bishop Herbert Welch.² Dr. J. W. Hirst, of Severance Hospital at Seoul, told me in April, 1920, that during the winter of 1919 four of the nurses of his hospital, arrested for shouting *Mansei*, had their hands and feet frozen and another one had her face frozen. The following letter, written by a Presbyterian missionary in Pyeng Yang, Korea, dated February 25, 1920, to A. W. Gillis, of Los Angeles Bible Institute, gives a clear idea of the prison conditions in Korea. After describing the loyalty of the Koreans to their faith despite official persecution, and hopeful prospects of the Church, the writer proceeds:

* * * * * *

Along with these encouraging reports have come others that have made our hearts sad with a mixture of righteous indignation. From the East Coast a telegram came yesterday to Dr. Blair saying that the Government officials in that district are persecuting the Christians, and interfering with the forward movement. Another telegram came the day before yesterday announcing that

¹ Peggy Hull, in *San Bernardino (Calif.) Index*, August 8, 1919.

² *Central Christian Advocate* (Kansas City, Mo.), May 12, 1920, p. 11.

several women Christians in a church in Dr. Blair's territory had been arrested and charged with praying for the sick. The pastor of their church came into Pyeng Yang yesterday and reported that the police there had called him in and ordered him to sign a paper promising not to pray for the sick again. He refused and told the police that he had been praying for the sick all his life and that he intended to continue to do so. Thousands of natives are in prison charged with complicity in the Independence Movement. Many of these are Christians, as the Japanese are particularly zealous in arresting Christians, though they are no more concerned in the movement than the non-Christians. The Christians in prison remain steadfast to their faith and hold prayers morning and evening, in spite of the Japanese. Those who have come out of prison have reported conditions in the prisons that are almost unbelievable, yet they all tell the same story, and sufficient proof has been collected to make it absolutely certain that what they say is true. These conditions exist to-day, months after the so-called reforms have gone into effect. We have had a very cold winter with the thermometer registering as low as fifteen degrees below zero F. Yet in the coldest weather there have been almost no fires in the prisons. I say "almost" because in a few prisons, in the halls of the hospitals, there have been a few small stoves that have kept the temperature of the halls (not the rooms of the hospital where the patients are) up to a few degrees below freezing. In the majority of the prisons, by the admission of the Japanese officials themselves, there have been no fires. Some men and women in prison have actually frozen to death. I shall be specific. Last week we had several days of zero weather. A man who came out of prison a day or two ago reported to Dr. Moffett that the man who was sleeping beside him was frozen to death. No one knows how many others have shared their fate. We

know that many have had their hands and feet frozen, because we have seen their hands and feet after they came out of prison. But you say that this does not show any particular animus or cruelty on the part of the Japanese. Perhaps, but it is an interesting commentary on their civilization and boasted claims of reform. But let me cite a few more facts. Last Wednesday was a zero weather day, and to make it worse there was a bitter wind blowing that made it almost impossible to walk outdoors. I know because I tried it. Yet that night the Japanese made a woman, whose term in prison *expired* that day, walk a half mile through the snow *in her bare feet*, from one prison to another, just for the purpose of going through the red tape of setting her free. And this after her sentence had expired! In the prison both men and women are forced each night to remove all their clothes in one building, and then run across a court for about a hundred feet through the open air, naked, to their sleeping quarters, where they put on their cold night clothing and sleep under insufficient cover in unheated rooms. In the morning they remove their night clothing in their sleeping quarters, run naked back across the court, under the open air, then put on their day clothes which have been in an unheated room all night. Please bear in mind that the women, as well as the men, are forced to do this, and that it is the regular routine no matter how cold the weather. At meals the prisoners are divided into eight groups, according to the work they do. The first group are given the most food, and this only about half enough for an ordinary meal such as they have been accustomed to. The next group receives less food, the third still less, and so on down to the eighth group, which receives the least amount of food of all. The women are in the seventh group. A boy who was in the fourth group told me he was hungry all the time. You can imagine how the poor people in the eighth group suffered for the lack

of food. No food can be sent to the prisoners from the outside after they have been sentenced.

One of the most refined bits of torture to which the prisoners are subjected is by a prison rule which compels them to sit on the ground in Japanese fashion instead of according to the Korean custom. The Korean custom is to sit down, cross their feet and tuck them under the body. The Japanese custom is to kneel and then sit back on their heels. If you think this is anything less than torture for a person not accustomed to it, try it for half an hour! The Koreans, who are no more accustomed to it than we are, are forced to sit that way for hours at a time.

* * * * *

But what is the result on the Koreans? The men and women who have been subjected to this treatment in prison come out more determined than ever to fight for independence to the bitter end. Boys who went into the March demonstrations for fun come out of prison the sworn enemies of the Japanese.

Since writing the above, new facts have come to my attention which I feel that I must mention. I said above that the Japanese claim to have abolished torture since the new régime went into power. Since writing the sentence referred to, the following new facts have been called to my attention. A man, who was sick and delirious in a hospital, was arrested while in that condition, taken from the hospital to the police court, put in a cold room, then removed to a warm room until he became conscious, then taken to court for examination. Upon refusing to tell what he was asked to tell about others engaged in the Independence Movement, he was sent back to the cold room for ten days, and then, when about to die, was put out of prison, and died the next day. But before his death he told his own and the following stories. He said that the day before he was turned out to die,

another man, a theological student, was put into the room with him in an almost dying condition. This theological student had been subjected to all kinds of torture. Among other things he had three kettles of water poured into his nostrils to force him to confess the names of those connected with the Independence Movement! Please bear in mind that this happened, not last year, but within the last two weeks, since the first day of February, 1920! And the Japanese claim to have abolished torture! Another man recently released from prison reports that four men were recently frozen to death. A Korean friend told me to-day that all the men in prison now have frozen feet. One of our best and most spiritually minded pastors, moderator of Presbytery, is in prison for a sentence of two years because the people at a funeral service, which he was conducting over a man who had been shot by the Japanese gendarmes, shouted "Mansei!" We have just heard that this man has his feet frozen, and that they are in such a condition that he is likely to die there in prison!

I am telling you these things because there is a persistent propaganda being carried on by the Japanese in American newspapers to convince the American public that they have reformed conditions in Korea. I hope you will use your influence to publish these facts as widely as possible, both in the newspapers and in the public gatherings. Use my name in confidence, if you wish, but see to it that it is withheld from publication.

Sincerely yours,

Presbyterian Missionary in Korea.

VI

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

IT is asserted by Japanese and their spokesmen in America that Nipponese rule in Korea has been a material boon to Korea, and that the Land of Morning Calm is economically better off to-day than ever before. But what is meant by "better"? Who has paid for these improvements, and who is to bear the burden of the debt created to make them? Is the average individual Korean any better off to-day than he was before?

Those to whom the assertion is made should also be told that Japan has increased the national debt of Korea from practically nothing, \$368,256.50 to be exact, to the sum of \$52,461,827.50 at the close of the year 1918. Has increasing the national debt one hundred and forty-three times "bettered" the economical condition of Korea?

It should also be known that Japan has increased the taxes collected from lands and property owned by the people from \$3,561,907.50 per annum, in 1905, to \$19,849,128 in 1919. Is the individual Korean any "better off economically" because he pays five and one-half times as much tax under Japanese rule, without independence, freedom and representation, as he

did under Korean rule with freedom and independence?

This "bettering process," this great "material boon" has cost Koreans in excess taxes \$66,386,098, and has increased the burden of their debts \$52,093,571, a grand total of \$118,479,669, which ought to do quite a little "bettering" and should create a "boon" of considerable size.

Yet no Japanese, in the wildest flights of imagination, will say that more than \$75,000,000 has been spent in Korea for public improvements since Japanese occupation. As a matter of fact, the total, compiled from the *Report on Reforms and Progress*, published as a part of Japanese propaganda, is \$66,649,735. This total includes at least one-third extra for graft and corruption fund. For instance, the railroad extensions are charged up as costing \$75,000 per mile that could not by any possibility have cost over \$35,000 per mile, considering that right of way costs and labour costs were negligible quantities. A valuation commission, with most liberal views, could not fix the actual cost of all these boasted improvements and betterments at over \$40,000,000.

Is it economically good practice to spend \$118,479,669 for improvements and betterments that are intrinsically worth but \$40,000,000? Japan has spent millions in Korea in military domination, but this overhead expense has no bearing on the material improvements of the country, and the Koreans cannot be made to pay or account for the cost of their oppression.

It is true that roads have been built, streets widened,

sanitation improved, telegraphic and postal communications extended and afforestation encouraged. But the Korean people have paid for them, and Korean virgin forests have been devastated at a hundred fold greater rate than afforestation has been accomplished. Furthermore, a close examination of the material improvements made in Korea reveals that only such improvements have been made as would profit Japanese. What benefits the Koreans have received are incidental and accidental, and the Japanese Government has taken proper measures to reduce even these to a minimum.

Japan knows how to show her bright spots and put the best foot forward. Thus, there were erected and maintained in show places to impress strangers elaborate public buildings far in excess of the economic strength of the nation. "The Japanese take good care to advertise various improvements in Korean life," says one writer who knows Japanese methods; "in Seoul there is a great display hall which houses a graphic representation of Korea rejuvenated, showing highways substituted for muddy lanes, over which little brown-clad postmen are bearing the mail to every hamlet, and Koreans are jogging along in their wooden carts bringing to far-away markets the products that hitherto they could sell only in their villages. The main carrying trade, however, is now almost wholly in the hands of the Japanese."¹

In order to use Korea as a base of military opera-

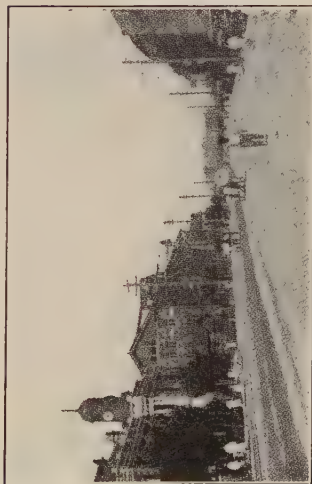
¹ Sidney Greenbie, "Korea Asserts Herself," *Asia*, September, 1919, p. 922.



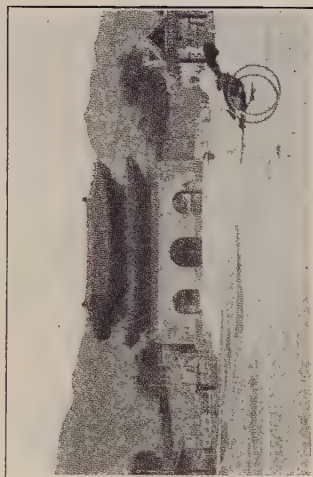
POST OFFICE AND BANK.



CENTRAL PARK.



MAIN STREET.



ONE OF THE CITY GATES.

DIFFERENT SCENES OF SEOUL

tions in case of war on the Asiatic mainland, Japan has built splendid roads throughout the length and breadth of Korea. They are the kind of roads of which Barney Oldfield himself could not complain. But they are strictly military roads built without regard to utility to the Korean people. A recent American visitor to Korea finds these splendid roads in the remote districts in Korea, where they are of no commercial or communicational value to the Korean. In describing one of them, the American traveller comments:

So perfect a road made the empty plateau look more desolate than ever. The dwellers in these squalid huts would never have built it; neither would the people of the valleys who used it only occasionally when they bartered with the people in the valleys beyond. The crooked trail that we could half make out in the rough grass at the side of the big road would do very well for such meager trade as the far-away town on the other side of the pass demanded. Just what, then, did the road mean? Korea's commerce did not necessitate it. This highway could be but one thing—a military road to fortify a conqueror's power.¹

The *de luxe* trains on the trunk line that run from Fusan to Mukden are quite equal to the Broadway or Twentieth Century Limited. The average globe-trotter cannot but be impressed with this magnificent system of communication. But he is utterly ignorant of the grim tragedy that lies behind the building and maintaining of these roads. Every inch of Japanese

¹Alice Tisdale, "A Korean Highroad," *Asia*, XX, 789-794, September, 1920.

roads and railroads is built upon confiscated property without a cent of compensation and by Korean labourers who are compelled to work without pay.

Prior to the annexation of the country, "Military Necessity" was the pretext used by the Japanese in confiscating private property; now it is "Eminent Domain." Regardless of the name they choose to give to this governmental robbery, the effect is the same to the Korean—loss of property without compensation. Imagine the predicament of a Korean in the city whose house has been torn down by the Government in order to widen the street and who is deprived of his home and property without compensation, or that of farmers commandeered without pay during the busiest time of the harvest season to build a military road for which they have no use. This is the fate of Koreans wherever material improvements have been made, and yet the Japanese take the praise to themselves.

To the credit of Japan she has one man among her scholars who denounces this system of confiscation and forced labour practised by the Japanese Government in Korea. This is none other than Dr. Yoshino, the eminent professor of the Imperial University of Tokyo, who made a trip to Korea in 1916. In an article published in the *Chuo-Koron* of Tokyo, Dr. Yoshino wrote on this phase of Japanese administration in Korea:

Without consideration and mercilessly they have resorted to laws for the expropriation of land, the Koreans concerned being compelled to part with their family

property for nothing. On many occasions they have also been forced to work in the construction of roads without receiving any wages. To make matters worse, they must work for nothing only on the days which are convenient to the officials, however inconvenient these days may be to the unpaid workers.

This is generally the method by which the Japanese Government in Korea has brought about the material improvement and for which they ask credit and praise. "New roads are good, but the Koreans, who have built them, without proper remuneration, at the point of the sword in great gangs of forced labour, do not appreciate them," writes an American resident in Korea. "Japanese salaries for men in the same work throughout the whole Government system are twice what Koreans get. And yet, it is the Koreans who pay the taxes. The progress is fine, and the ship rides high on the wave, but it has become unbearable to the galley slave in the hold."¹

This system of bringing about material improvement is not only unjust and costly to individual Koreans, but there is the injustice found in the wholesale confiscation of lands to give them to Japanese immigrants, and in the relentless discrimination practised in commerce and industry by the Government in order to reduce the Koreans to economic serfdom. With no anti-Japanese sentiment, Professor T. A. Crane of Pittsburg University writes in the *New York Times*:

It was my opinion when I was in Korea, and is my

¹ *The Korean Situation*, pp. 106-107.

opinion still, that it is Japan's intention that all the Koreans shall be practically serfs, pursuing only the trades of farmers and artisans, leaving to the Japanese immigrants the administration of Government, the mercantile and banking trades, and other more profitable callings. In other words, Korea is being exploited altogether for the benefit of the Japanese with little thought of any obligation to the natives.

The total wealth of the country has been increased since Japanese occupation, but the economic status of the Korean is worse than it was under the old administration. Over one million and a half Koreans have emigrated to China and Siberia since Korea became a part of Japan, not only to avoid the military tyranny of the Japanese, but also to escape this economic pressure brought upon them by that rule.

Under the Korean Government all land was divided into four classes: (1) Private lands owned by private individuals; (2) Royal lands belonging to the King, but sometimes leased in perpetuity to private individuals, with the right of selling to another individual without changing the ownership and the privilege of inheritance; (3) Municipal lands, the title to which belonged to the various municipalities, but the practical ownership of which was in the hands of private individuals; (4) Lands belonging to Buddhist temples.

Owners of private lands paid taxes to the Government; holders of royal lands paid tribute to the royal household; owners of municipal lands paid fees to the respective municipalities which held the title of lands; and the lands belonging to Buddhist temples were free

from all taxation. These temple lands were held according to a communistic plan among the Buddhists. When the Japanese annexed Korea, they surveyed the country and confiscated all lands belonging to the royal household, to the municipalities and to the Buddhist temples, on the technical ground that since these lands did not belong to private individuals, they must be the property of the Government. This sweeping confiscation made many thousands of formerly well-to-do Koreans paupers. After the land was thus confiscated by the new Government it was leased or sold to Japanese farmers, not to Koreans.

The policy of the Tokyo Government is to induce a large body of Japanese to settle in Korea so that they should form a body strong enough to hold Korea in the event of an armed protest on the part of the Korean people. There are over 300,000 Japanese in Korea, and the number is increasing steadily.

When Bismarck wanted to Prussianize Poland, he moved several million Germans into German Poland to help assimilate the Poles. Money was appropriated by the German Government to buy land from the Poles for these newcomers. The Poles clung to their lands and refused to be assimilated, with the consequence that the price of land in German Poland went up, and the Poles became prosperous.

Japan pursued the same policy in a more efficacious way. The Oriental Development Company was organized under the direction of the Government to carry on this peaceful penetration of Korea. Its purpose is to promote Japanese colonization in Korea and

to develop the uncultivated lands in the peninsula. But its practice has been, and is still, to dispossess the Koreans of their property by illegitimate methods and to carry on the Governmental exploitation of Korea at the expense of the Korean people. The following illustration, which is one of the many subtle methods employed by the Company to get hold of the Korean property, will make clear to the reader the workings of this semi-official corporation.

Rice is the chief agricultural product in Korea, and water which irrigates the rice fields runs from one field to the other in succession. The agents of the Oriental Development Company buy the rice patch through which water must run to the other fields in succession. The Japanese agent or "farmer" cuts off the water supply to the other fields. The Korean farmer complains to the Japanese authorities, who blandly ignore him. The Korean is then told that since his land has become worthless, he might as well sell it to the Oriental Development Company, at the price the Japanese will pay, not what the Korean farmer would ask or what the land is worth when he can get water. By these and equally illegitimate methods the Oriental Development Company has acquired, and is still acquiring, thousands of acres of the best lands in Korea. The Koreans know the game of the Government, but they have no means to counteract it. And woe to the Korean who dare oppose by physical force any of the agents of this Company, or any Japanese, for that matter, for his property will be subject to confiscation, and his life will be jeopardized. There

are many cases where the Koreans were shot by Japanese soldiers, because they attempted to protect their home and property from the agents of Japanese exploiters. Already one-third of the best land in Korea is in the hands of the Japanese and the amount is increasing rapidly.

Koreans, who are thus despoiled of their home and land, are compelled to emigrate into the wilds of Manchuria and Siberia to seek a livelihood. "Among the most pathetic sights in Seoul," observes one American, "are the groups of men, women and children, with their little possessions, waiting at the by-stations for trains to the outer world."¹ By far the majority of Korean emigrants make their journey on foot. Although the Japanese authorities do not allow Koreans to depart to other parts of the world, they encourage Korean exodus into Manchuria and Siberia for two reasons: (1) to make room for the Japanese immigrants into Korea; (2) to scatter Koreans into these regions so that Japan can have a claim on these regions on the pretext of "protecting" her Korean subjects and station her soldiers by what Putnam Weale calls "Infiltration Tactics."² The suffering and hardship that these Korean emigrants undergo in their exodus is best described by Rev. W. T. Cook of the Manchurian Christian College at Moukden.

¹ Sidney Greenbie, "Korea Asserts Herself," *Asia*, September, 1919, p. 922.

² Cf. Putnam Weale, "Forces Behind Japan's Imperialism," *New York Times Current History*, II, pt. 2: 165-168, January, 1920.

The untold afflictions of the Korean immigrants coming into Manchuria will, doubtless, never be fully realized, even by those actually witnessing their distress. In the still closeness of a forty below zero climate in the dead of winter, the silent stream of white clad figures creeps over the icy mountain passes, in groups of ten, twenties and fifties, seeking a new world of subsistence, willing to take a chance of life and death in a hand-to-hand struggle with the stubborn soil of Manchuria's wooded and stony hillsides. Here, by indefatigable efforts, they seek to extract a living by applying the grub axe and hand hoe to the barren mountain sides above the Chinese fields, planting and reaping by hand, between roots, the sparse yield that is often insufficient to sustain life.

Many have died from insufficient food. Not only women and children, but young men have been frozen to death. Sickness also claims its toll under these new conditions of exposure. Koreans have been seen standing barefooted on the broken ice of a riverside fording place, rolling up their baggy trousers before wading through the broad stream, two feet deep, of ice cold water, then standing on the opposite side while they hastily adjust their clothing and shoes.

Women with insufficient clothing and parts of their bodies exposed, carry little children on their backs, thus creating mutual warmth in a slight degree, but it is in this way that the little one's feet, sticking out from the binding basket, get frozen and afterwards fester till the tiny toes stick together. Old men and women, with bent backs and wrinkled faces, walk the uncomplaining miles until their old limbs refuse to carry them further.

Thus it is by households they come, old and young, weak and strong, big and little. . . .

In this way over 75,000 Koreans have entered during the past year, until the number of Koreans now living in

both the north and western portions of Manchuria now totals nearly half a million.¹

So much has been said by the Japanese themselves and by pro-Japanese writers in America about the currency reform in Korea as a distinct credit to Japanese administration that it may not be amiss for me to say a word concerning it. After the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the Japanese Government established a semi-official financial trust in Korea in the Bank of Chosen. This Government bank is the depository of all Government money, and it stands in relation to the Japanese Government as the Bank of England stands in relation to the English Government, with the difference that the former has a stranglehold on the business enterprises of the Koreans, while the latter promotes the business interests of Englishmen. This unofficial treasury works in coöperation with other Japanese banks in Korea—the First Bank (Dai Ichi Ginko) in Seoul and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks located at the various trade centers throughout the country. Korean banks are required to hire Japanese “advisers,” who have the controlling power in the management, and their reserves are kept in the Bank of Chosen, which cannot be taken out without the consent of the officials of the said institution. Thus, Korean banks are under the thumbscrew of this Government trust.

All the Korean money made of nickel, copper, bronze and alloys of silver and gold, to the amount of

¹ Report to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

about 14,000,000 yen (\$7,000,000), was collected and taken to Japan, and paper money substituted in the form of worthless currency. As a matter of fact, all currency in Korea is practically worthless, for it is not backed by any reserve. The Bank of Chosen, with its capital of 20,000,000 yen, had outstanding notes at the close of the fiscal year ending October 1, 1918, amounting to 81,317,000 yen. At that time the total liabilities of the bank were 114,291,000 yen, which included the 81,317,000 yen outstanding bank notes, 3,000,000 yen borrowed and 29,974,000 yen due to depositors, while its total assets, including loans, good, bad and indifferent, cash on hand and reserve did not exceed 76,000,000 yen, showing a deficit of over 38,000,000 yen.¹ The bank would be closed in Japan proper, because insolvent. But in Korea it is permitted by the Japanese Government. No gold and very few silver yen are to be found in the country.

In order to meet the demands for circulating medium less than a yen, the Bank of Chosen has issued notes in denominations of ten, twenty and fifty sen, equivalent in American money to five, ten and twenty-five cents. Again, this is a special provision for Korea, as currency for less than a yen is not used in Japan proper. The total amount of this petty currency issued by the Bank from June 12, 1916 to October 1, 1918 is 1,023,610 yen.

¹ Figures taken from the *Review of Recent Events in Korea*, issued by the Government General, January, 1919, in the Japanese language, for the exclusive use of the Japanese officials in Korea, pp. 310-312.

One eloquent evidence that the bank notes circulating in Korea are worthless is the fact that they are not honoured in Japan proper. Japanese claim Korea to be an integral part of their empire, as much as the state of California is an integral part of the United States, yet they flood the country with currency which is neither redeemable nor legal tender in Japan.

In order to insure absolute financial supervision, every wealthy Korean is required to have a Japanese steward, whose function is that of the household accountant and financial adviser combined. This Japanese steward keeps account of the income and expenditure of the household. A Korean cannot spend his money without the knowledge and sanction of this steward, who is really his master, as he has the Government authority back of him. Thus, the late Emperor Yi of Korea nominally received the annual grant of 1,500,00 yen (\$750,000) from the Japanese Government after Korea had been annexed. But, in reality, he had no more money at his disposal than a Korean coolie. If a wealthy man spends any significant sum of money without the sanction of his Japanese steward, his property is liable to confiscation on the charge that he may be working against the Government. I know of many cases where confiscation of property has taken place on the strength of charges made by these Japanese stewards. In 1915, Major Cho, a very wealthy Korean, founded a Korean school in Peking to educate Korean youths in China. The Japanese authorities brought charges against him of plotting against the Japanese Government and con-

fiscated all his property. Under the right of extra-territoriality, the Chinese Government was unable to give the Korean its protection.

Another rule that runs in conjunction with Japanese stewardship is the fact that no Korean is permitted to draw from his bank account more than a thousand yen at a time. In 1911 a Korean financier in Seoul, by the name of Yi Kil Sang, had deposited one million yen in Dai Ichi Ginko (First Bank). He wanted to draw 100,000 yen, and was refused on the ground that no sufficient reason was given for drawing that much money. He applied to the authorities, only to be brushed out by underlings. He got frantic and made some ugly representations. He was branded as being a dangerous character, and his money was confiscated by the Government.

The Japanese explanation of this rule is that if a Korean were permitted to have much cash, he might plot against the Government. Perhaps he would. But this regulation works economic discrimination against the Korean. If the Korean merchant needs a thousand dollars in cash to buy merchandise, he cannot get the money under this regulation, with the result that his chance to buy is taken by his Japanese competitor. The following extract from a letter, written by an American business man in Korea, later in China, furnishes sufficient evidence to confirm some of these economic restrictions.

Another form of persecution which the Japanese are practising on the Koreans will, I am sure, startle the world. No rich Korean is permitted to spend his money

except on the permission of the Japanese authorities. The Japanese Government has placed in the household of every rich Korean a Japanese officer in the capacity of a butler and cashier, who has the entire run of the house, passing on all the expenses, and no Korean can spend his money without the O. K. of this Japanese butler. I state this on the authority of the American Consul here at Seoul, who told me that an American firm here has been trying to sell automobiles to the rich Koreans, who want to buy them, but that the Japanese officials will not permit such purchases to be made. I afterwards confirmed this from the American firm located here. In addition to this the Japanese authorities are hampering the American business men in every way possible.¹

The Japanese Government in Korea has carried out systematically their policy of reducing the Korean people to hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the Japanese, backed by their Government, have succeeded in gaining the control of every channel of commerce and industry. The Korean merchant cannot compete with the Japanese because of the preferential treatment accorded to Japanese nationals. All rights to develop the resources of the country are given to Japanese, and every Korean enterprise, even of the humblest sort, is insidiously hampered by the withholding of necessary licenses and similar obstructions. Korea, at present, is a paradise for Japanese loan sharks and speculators. I have confidential letters from my friends in Korea stating that the people are frequently in such financial straits as to mortgage their property and borrow money from the Japanese

¹ Quoted by Sidney Greenbie, *Asia*, September, 1919, p. 922.

speculators at an interest as high as seventy per cent. per annum. "The Koreans haven't the shadow of a fair chance against subsidized Japanese concerns, governmental and individual," writes Sidney L. Greenbie. "Japan guaranteed the open door to all foreigners, but as soon as she annexed Korea she shut the doors to all foreigners for eighteen months to entrench the Japanese and practically keep all others out. And now everything in Korea is 'Government.'"

While Korea was independent, all nations enjoyed within her boundaries equal commercial privileges. The first Korean railway—Seoul-Chemulpo line—was built and owned by an American concern; the first electric plant in Korea was installed by the Bostick and Colbran Company in 1895. This same company built the first and largest electric road and waterworks in Korea. The Korean Customs Service, under the old administration, was in the hands of McLeavy Brown, an Englishman of uncompromising principles, who helped maintain the open door in Korea. To-day Nipponese tradesmen have driven out practically all other nationals and have the market to themselves. As an instance, the British-American Tobacco Company, which had been one of the most successful foreign concerns in Korea, was unable to compete with the Japanese trust, which is a government monopoly, with the result that the company was virtually forced out of the country in 1915. This discrimination against foreigners produces an intolerable condition, and not only drives out all foreign capital already invested in Korea but prevents the coming of more to develop the

country. In 1908, a Korean financier, Lee Seng-Huen of Chung Chu, made an agreement with the Parma Company of Italy to establish a Korean-Italian import and export firm in Korea. The agent of the Parma Company went to Korea to investigate. When he was told by the Japanese authorities some of the rules and regulations that the new firm would have to face, the firm was successfully frightened away from Korean soil.

The policy of discrimination runs through the entire system of Japanese rule in Korea, both governmental and private. The Korean-American Electric Company, which was formerly owned by the Bostick and Colbran firm, now is in the hands of the Japanese, and can be taken as a fair example of Japanese industrial discrimination against Koreans. While that firm was in the management of Americans, the majority of the office force was Korean. Now, out of four hundred people employed in the office, only four are Koreans, the rest being Japanese. The average salary of a Japanese clerk is sixty yen, while that of a Korean doing the same work is only twenty yen. While under the American management, the car fare was two sen; now under Japanese ownership, the car fare is five sen, and at the same time the wages of the Korean conductors has dropped from an average of thirty yen to twelve yen a month. There is not a single industry in Korea where this system of discrimination does not appear. It may be asked why do the Koreans not start business enterprises of their own. The Japanese Government does not let them. Some

years ago a group of Korean financiers promoted the plan of establishing a farmers' bank in Taiku to check the illegitimate exploitation by the Bank of Chosen and the Oriental Development Company, but this project was promptly stopped by the Government.

Writes an American resident in Korea:

Look at the administration from whatever point you will, the aim of the Japanese to make Korea a preserve for Japanese officialdom and exploit her for the benefit of Japan and Japanese colonists, stands out as clear as day. Visit the large harbours, and you will find that the land adjoining the docks is monopolized by the Japanese, and the Koreans denied building rights within the Japanese section. The crown lands, that have been held in perpetual lease by generations of Korean farmers, have been sold by the Government, almost exclusively to Japanese settlers. For this reason the emigration to Manchuria has been increasing year by year. The banking system of the peninsula has been greatly extended and improved, and is increasingly proving a boon to the natives. But it is surely unfortunate that, with the possible exception of the Kanjo Bank, all the managers and nine-tenths of the clerks are Japanese. It is this wholesale handicapping of the Korean youth that engenders the disaffection which has recently shown itself. This coming as it does from a people who are so strongly urging their policy of "No Race Discrimination," is, to say the least, an aspersion on Japanese sincerity.¹

¹ *The Korean Situation*, pp. 115-116.

VII

INTELLECTUAL STRANGULATION

THE policy of the Japanese Government in Korea is to consider the land and the people as its property; therefore, it would be to the profit of Japan to keep the people as ignorant as possible. The subject race must forget their past, be ignorant of the affairs of the world, and believe that by divine will they were made to serve their masters. They must be made into loyal Japanese subjects—an inferior brand of Japanese. They should be given some technical training so that they may serve intelligently as hewers of wood and drawers of water, but anything beyond that is not desirable, but in fact, dangerous.

With this policy in view, the intellectual suppression of the Korean people has been as systematically carried out as political or economic subjugation. One of the first things the Terauchi administration did after the annexation was to collect all books of Korean history and biographies of illustrious Koreans from schools, libraries and private homes and to burn them.¹ Priceless treasures of historical records were

¹ Letter written by Dr. Frank W. Schofield, Canadian medical missionary in Korea, to Captain J. W. Graves of Yale School of Religion, in which Dr. Schofield mentions the destruction of

thus destroyed by this needless vandalism of the Japanese. All Korean periodical literature—from local newspapers to scientific journals—has been completely stamped out.¹ In true Japanese fashion the Government does not say that the Koreans shall not publish anything for themselves. But they lay down such rules and regulations as make it impossible for a Korean to start a publication of any kind. To start a publication, whether a newspaper, magazine or book, one must obtain permission from the censor, which is next to impossible. If this difficulty is overcome, the publisher must deposit a certain sum of money with the police to meet the contingency of a fine. When an issue of a magazine is to be printed, two galley proofs must be sent to the censor and his stamp of approval obtained on each page before it can finally go to the press. If the censor has overlooked anything, the entire issue, after printing, is suppressed. Every attempt made by Koreans at publication fails because of this

Korean historical books by Japanese. This letter was published in *New Haven Journal-Courier*, December 30, 1919.

Nathaniel Peffer says in his pamphlet, *The Truth About Korea*, "Korean history is not allowed to be taught as such. Immediately after annexation all books giving Korean history were confiscated and destroyed. Houses were systematically searched; any literature telling of Korea's development was burned, and frequently the man in whose possession it was found was jailed. It is to-day a crime to own a Korean history. I have talked to Koreans who have been beaten and sentenced to imprisonment of from fifteen to thirty days for committing the crime of reading about their own country."

¹ Nine dailies and six monthlies of national importance were abolished in 1910, to say nothing of minor publications (*Korean History*, Chinese and Korean edition, pp. 228-229).

official control. This regulation applies to books as well as to periodicals. Once Dr. James S. Gale translated into Korean some of Kipling's jungle stories for Korean children. It was suppressed by the censor because it contained an incident where the elephant refused to serve his second master, inference being made by the censor that the Korean children might be given the impression that they should refuse to serve their alien masters—the Japanese.

“At the end of the fiscal year, 1916,” says the Japanese Government *Report*, “there were twenty newspapers published in Chosen, of which eighteen were Japanese, one Korean and one English.” But they were all Japanese, and three of them, including the last two, are Government organs. Concerning the functions of the *Seoul Press*, an English organ of the Government, I will elaborate in another chapter. But it might not be amiss to say a word concerning the Government organ, the *Mail Sinpo*, the only daily published in the Korean language. If it gives news at all, that news is unblushing Japanese propaganda, so unblushing as to deceive none, not even the densely ignorant. Everybody in Korea, both foreigners and natives, knows that truth is an unknown quantity in the sheet of this Government mouthpiece.

The only publications that are printed in Korean are those published by missionaries, devoted entirely to religious themes. Even these are hampered by the censor. A few years ago *The Christian Messenger* published a sonnet to spring. The issue was suppressed by the censor on the charge that the rebirth

of the year implied the rebirth of a nation to the Korean mind, thereby inciting rebellion against the Government. "In a Tract Society pamphlet issued some time ago there appeared a sentence in which all Christian Koreans were adjured to expel the devil from within them. That pamphlet was suppressed with high indignation. Devil? said the official to the editor, devil? When you say devil you are referring to Japan, you are urging Koreans to rise in rebellion! And instructions were then issued to all religious publications never to allow the character for devil to appear in their papers or books again."¹ In more pronounced cases the Koreans were punished. Thus a college girl in Pyeng Yang was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary for writing a song on Korean liberty which she sang at a demonstration meeting in Pyeng Yang, March, 1919.

Simultaneously with the suppression of the press came the dissolution of all Korean organizations, political and otherwise. Japanese Government *Report* states that "most of the political associations and similar bodies were ordered to dissolve themselves at the time of annexation, as it was deemed necessary to take such a step for the maintenance of peace and order. Since then there has been no political party or association, as such, among the Koreans." But as a matter of fact, out of ten nationally known organizations dissolved right after the annexation, only one was purely political.² The others had as their aims

¹ Peffer, *The Truth About Korea*, pp. 19-20.

² Korean Historical Commission, *Korean History*, pp. 223-228.

the advancement of learning, the diffusion of common knowledge, the promotion of social welfare and betterment of business conditions.

With regard to the right of assemblage and the right of free speech, the official *Report* says, "The holding of public meetings in connection with political affairs, or the gathering of crowds out-of-doors, was also prohibited, except open air religious gatherings or school excursion parties, permission for which might be obtained of the police authorities." And the police, who are all-powerful in Korea, have the authority to decide as to what kind of meetings they should allow Koreans to have. One might get an impression that "religious gatherings" and "school excursion parties" were free from interference of the police. But "even a field meet, in which two or more schools contemplate participation" is not allowed. "A Y. M. C. A. meeting has to report the date, hour, speaker, topic for discussion, etc., beforehand for the police approval. A few years ago such a purely academic society as the 'Law and Economics' Association' was given 'advice' to dissolve, and who is there that can afford to be heedless of such an advice?"¹

Freedom of speech? No meeting of Koreans can be held for any purpose without official permit. No meeting can be held, even with permit, without spies. There is never a pastor's conference, there is never a church service without its spies. Freedom of speech? A Korean Methodist pastor delivered a sermon on the Kingdom of God—the case is a classic in Korea. He was arrested

¹ Hugh H. Cynn, *The Rebirth of Korea*, p. 119.

immediately after the service. He was severely reprimanded and threatened with dire consequences if the offense were repeated. There is only one Kingdom, he was told—the Kingdom of Japan.

In the graduation exercises of a high school in Pyeng Yang a boy once chanced to mention Julius Cæsar. His note-books and text-books were seized by the police; the whole faculty was examined and the principal was reprimanded for allowing dangerous ideas to be propagated in his school.¹

The Korean must, under no circumstances, meddle in politics, no matter how vitally that may affect his body and soul. He must be deaf, dumb and blind. To have an interest in the march of human affairs in the world is a crime in Korea. And why should the Korean take an interest in the spirit of the times, or wish to participate in the political affairs of his country? All the political thinking will be done for them by the Japanese masters, who are more than equal to the task. Thus runs the Japanese official mind in Korea. The following statement, made by a British resident of Korea, sums up the stifled intellectual condition of the Korean:

Military occupation and military Government and the evident purpose of the administration to exploit Korea for the benefit of Japan and the Japanese settler—these rankle in the sensitive Korean mind and force him to fix his hope upon "The Day" when his "national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction." The military rule has not left him even the vestige of liberty. Every man's movements are under the inquisitorial scru-

¹ Nathaniel Pepper, *The Truth About Korea*, p. 20.

tiny of police and gendarme. All public meetings and society organizations are governed by law. A meeting to discuss world events is an impossibility; a democratic remark would inevitably mean a clash with officialdom. Free speech is unknown. Two years ago three students of the Pyeng Yang Union Christian College were arrested for making some liberal remarks in a valedictory address, and the literary society of that college was forced to discontinue. It goes without saying that the press is muzzled. No progressive young Korean can find a medium for the expression of his ideas. One of the brightest of young Koreans, Mr. Choy Namsun, is credited with having edited no less than five magazines, one after the other of which have been suppressed. He is now in prison on the charge of having written the recent Independence Manifesto.¹

So much has been said by Japanese spokesmen in America that Korea had no schools to speak of until Japanese went there, and that the Japanese Government is establishing magnificent schools for the education of the Korean youth. Nothing could be further from the truth. No other people in the Orient laid greater emphasis on education than did the Koreans. Under the old régime, there was a school in every hamlet and village, supported by the people of each locality. From time immemorial Korea had a Ministry of State for Education, equal in rank with other Ministries in the Cabinet. Right after the annexation the Japanese reduced the Department of Education to a Bureau and placed it under the Department of Internal Affairs. To be a scholar in classical education in old Korea was the aim of every ambitious lad, as the hall of honour

¹ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 58, p. 2862, July 17, 1919.

and glory could be reached only through the path of classical scholarship. Dr. George Heber Jones, in distinguishing the three peoples in the Far East by traits peculiar to each, states:

In character the Korean people are naturally friendly. To those who inspire them with respect and confidence, they are the soul of generous hospitality. The Koreans are intellectually inclined, the national ideal is the scholar. Whereas in China the cast of mind is commercial giving us a nation of merchants, and in Japan it is military giving us a nation of warriors, in Korea it is literary, giving us a nation of scholars.¹

At the time of annexation, modern schools were being established by Koreans everywhere in the peninsula. The people were beginning to realize the necessity of modern education. They spared no pains or money in educating their youth. The Japanese Government *Report* admits that "several years ago the establishment of private schools became popular among the Koreans, so that one time there were more than two thousand private schools in the peninsula." But Japan does not look with favour upon agencies that have a tendency to enlighten the people. The administration passed various educational regulations which were tantamount to closing nearly all private schools, and the Japanizing educational program was introduced. The aim of education for Koreans is set forth in the Imperial Ordinance number 229, promulgated on August 23, 1911. "The essential principle of education in Chosen shall be the making of loyal and good

¹ Quoted by Horace G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 46.



PAI JAI COLLEGE (AMERICAN MISSION SCHOOL)
At Seoul Which Has Furnished Its Quota of Prisoners during the Independence Movement.



THE KOREAN CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE AT HONOLULU

subjects," says the Ordinance. This means that everything else must be sacrificed for the cause of making loyal Japanese subjects out of Koreans. And the Japanese administration in Korea ruthlessly enforced the policy of clubbing Japanese patriotism into the heads of Korean youngsters. The following table and the subjoining comment, submitted in a report presented to Congress through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America by a British resident of Korea, is self-explanatory.

Comparative statistics of schools in Korea for Koreans and Japanese (with statistics of mission schools).

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS FOR KOREANS.

Kind of school.	Number.	Scholars.	Applica- tions.
Elementary public school	447	67,629
High elementary school	3	537	2,651
Girls' high school	2	164	187
College	3	277	844

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS FOR JAPANESE.

Kind of school.	Number.	Scholars.
Elementary school	324	34,100
Middle school	3	375
Girls' high school	9	526
College	2	91

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

Kind of school.	Number.	Scholars.
Elementary school	601	22,542
Middle school	17	2,125
Girls' high school	14	1,352
College	4	250

Government schools for Koreans:

Government subsidies	Y.602,888
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Population	17,500,000
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Government schools for Japanese:

Government subsidies	Y.339,660
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Population	300,000
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Christian schools:

Government subsidies	None.
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Population	300,000
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The above table shows that for a Korean population of 17,500,000 the Government has provided no more than 447 schools, capable of receiving no more than 67,629 scholars, or about one three-hundredths of the population. Compared with this there has been provided for the 300,000 Japanese residents 324 schools, capable of receiving 34,100 scholars, or one-ninth of the population. This does not mean that the Koreans are unwilling to educate their boys. The governor general reports the existence of no fewer than 21,800 old-type village schools, which must provide the elements of education to some 500,000 boys. To this must be added the 22,542 children attending Christian schools. But it is the higher-grade school system that receives most criticism from the Korean. Not only do the Japanese boys and girls in Korea get a higher standard of education than the native Korean, but more ample provision is made for their numbers. Including the three colleges, there are only seven schools for Koreans above the common public-school grade, capable of admitting no more than 978 scholars, whereas the Japanese children have 14 schools, with a capacity for receiving 992 scholars. Surely this leaves the administration open to the charge of discrimination and to the further charge of refusing the Korean the benefits of higher education. Here again the excuse cannot be made that Koreans are indifferent to higher education, for in 1916 there were 3,682 applicants for the 978 places. The much suspected and maligned Christian church has stepped into the breach and, with its 31 academies and 4 colleges, receives yearly almost 4,000 students. If it be argued that the Government encourages young Koreans to take their higher education in Japan, the answer is that for most young men the cost is prohibitive, and that what applies to the Korean youth should apply equally to the sons of Japanese settlers. Not until

the Government makes a fair provision from public funds for the native Koreans as she does for the Japanese colonists will she free herself from the stigma of "race discrimination" within her own empire.¹

Japanese administration requires that all school instructions be given in the Japanese language, and that the aim of education is to make loyal subjects out of Koreans. And yet, it is, indeed, strange that the administration has provided two school systems in Korea—one for Japanese children and the other for the Korean. The Japanese schools in Korea are identical with those in Japan proper, and therefore, their high standard is beyond question. But the schools for the Korean children, established by the Government, are not only few in number, but inferior in quality. The Japanese Government *Report* says: "The school age for Koreans being eight, is two years later than that for Japanese. The period of study for common school is four years, but it may be shortened to three years according to local conditions." But the period of study for the corresponding school for Japanese is six years. To quote further from the *Report*, "The higher common school gives a liberal education to Korean boys of not less than twelve years of age for a period of four years." But the corresponding Japanese middle school requires five years. "This shows," says Professor Hugh H. Cynn, "that while eleven years are provided for the Japanese youths for primary and secondary education, only eight years are allowed the Korean youths; and the law says that may still be lowered to

¹ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 58, No. 47, p. 2863, July 17, 1919.

seven years, while no extension whatsoever can lawfully be made under any circumstances.”¹

Principals of all schools, except those under direct supervision of the missionaries, are Japanese, and every school, including those supported by American money, must have three or more Japanese teachers. Furthermore, it is required by the Government that the salary of the Japanese teachers shall be twice that of Korean teachers, and Japanese teachers are supplied to various schools by the Government through its Bureau of Education. If the officially selected teacher for a Korean private or missionary school is efficient and agreeable to school authorities, they should be thankful; if not, they have to take him just the same and pay the salary. And woe to a Korean school that resents the presence of Japanese teachers, for it will suffer the penalty of having its doors closed. Concerning the Government schools, Koreans have less to say. Of the five Government high schools in the country eighty-two teachers are Japanese and nineteen Korean. And yet the Koreans are the ones who pay the taxes to support these schools.

Text-books and course of study even in common schools are prescribed by the Government. Here the difficulty of adjustment arose in missionary schools which always have conducted the curriculum in pure Korean. But this I will discuss in another chapter. Up to this year, 1920, all teachers were required to wear swords in schoolrooms. Think of a teacher of

¹For fuller discussion, see Hugh H. Cynn, *The Rebirth of Korea*, Chap. V.

little boys and girls of eight and nine strutting into a schoolroom rattling a sword! It is an interesting commentary on Japan's lack of humour.

The text-books of history and geography, issued by the Government, are hopelessly garbled versions. "The Japanese are taking it upon themselves to invent even ethnological facts," says Sidney Greenbie. "In imitation of England, they are trying to make it appear to Koreans that Japan is their mother country, as England was to America, and invariably speak of it in that manner."¹ It is intended to give a contemptuous view of Korea and a glorified one of Japan. It teaches that Korea is only 2,000 years old instead of 4,000 and is junior to Japan. Japanese and Korean Emperors were brothers once upon a time, and Japan always has been the historic protector of Korea. Every trace of civilization that Korea ever had was brought over from Japan, as the Koreans have always been savages. The annexation was brought about by the desire of the Korean people as a reunion with the mother country; it was a magnanimous act on the part of Japan to assume the responsibility of annexing Korea.

This warping of historical facts brought forth vigorous protest from Dr. William Elliot Griffis, the distinguished American scholar on Oriental history and civilization. Says Dr. Griffis:

The nursery tales, accepted as sober facts, which picture Korea as conquered and made tributary to Japan, are simply mirrors of Japanese vanity and conceit with

¹ Sidney Greenbie, "Korea Asserts Herself," *Asia*, September, 1919, p. 923.

no reflection in history. . . . The Japanese are deeply indebted to the Koreans for the introduction of writing and literature. Not only did hundreds of Korean peaceful envoys and men of the pen, the brush, the chisel and the sutra enter the Mikado's domain, but along with them came refined and educated women, who were governesses in the noble families and instructors of court ladies and teachers of etiquette.¹

When we examine the course of study, it is equally ridiculous. Of the thirty-two hours a week instruction in the Lower Common School, similar to American grammar school, eight hours are given over to learning the Japanese language, five to arithmetic, five to the Chinese characters—which are the basis of the Japanese and Korean written languages as well as the Chinese—five to gymnastics, three to industrial work, two to agriculture, two to calligraphy, one to music and one to what is called ethics, which teaches how the divine Emperor of Japan should be worshipped. Korean children are not allowed to study their own language and history. The little history taught in the Higher Common Schools is the history of Japan with Japanese editing; by this editing the whole world is a kind of offspring of Japan, temporarily disinherited, but eagerly awaiting restoration to its patrimony under the fatherly wing of the Heavenly Ruler, the Emperor of Japan. The Government-edited geography pictures the Japanese archipelago as the pearl in the oyster of the universe, and Korea by being a part of Japan shares the luster by way of reflection. The Korean

¹ William Elliot Griffis, "Japan's Debt to Korea," *Asia*, August, 1919, pp. 742-748.

child, under the system of Japanese education, is kept as ignorant of the history of other nations or what is going on in the world as the child of a Hottentot.

Besides this Japanizing curriculum, there is an infinite amount of red-tape in connection with the school which is annoying to the Korean, to say the least. In every school there is a "Loyalty Room" in which is a display of charts and diagrams to impress upon the Korean mind that Japan is the oldest and the most powerful nation in the world, and that the Mikado is really the divine commissioned ruler of all mankind. "What struck me in this Loyalty Room," wrote the late Walter E. Weyl of the *New Republic*, after his visit to Korea in 1917, "was the sedulous care with which these patient Japanese masters seek to indoctrinate the Koreans, whose unquiet independence they have abolished and whom they now wish to transform into patriotic Nipponese."¹ On every Japanese holiday the Korean children are required to bow down before the tablet of the Mikado in the Loyalty Room. One Korean lad, who refused to worship the image of this Heavenly Ruler, was sent to the penitentiary for seven years.

To this must be added the irksome and petty official interference. There is an official inspection of the schools every day, and every conceivable detail must be reported to the Government, which takes a large part of the teacher's time and even more of the principal's. "Everything in a school from the nature and

¹ Walter E. Weyl, "Korea—an Experiment in Denationalization." *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1919, pp. 392-401.

price of the chalk used to the ancestry of a teacher must be reported and frequently inspected. It is this that irks so terribly, especially the foreigners in the Christian schools. One cannot engage a teacher without official permission or dismiss him without official permission; and every teacher's record, in thrice greater detail than on a passport application, must be filed. One cannot raise the salary of a janitor without official permission. One cannot buy twelve new black-board erasers without official permission. If in the Chosen Christian College physics is taught at nine o'clock and chemistry at ten, and the school wants to reverse the order for convenience, it cannot do so without official permission. And perpetually there are inspections."¹ And the slightest infraction of these rules will be followed by the closing of the schools.

Private schools, supported by private endowments, must comply with these official regulations the same as Government schools. Besides, the Japanese teachers, placed in the private institutions by the Government at the expense of the school, serve as semi-official agents of the Government, and their opinion and desire must be taken into consideration in whatever the school undertakes to do. And they cannot be dismissed by the school authorities. Is it any wonder that 2,000 private schools of modern education in 1910 dwindled to 970 at the end of the year 1916?

It may be asked why the Korean youth do not go abroad for education. In the first place, the majority of the Koreans are financially unable to send their chil-

¹Nathaniel Peffer, *The Truth About Korea*, p. 13.

dren abroad for education; secondly, for those who can afford to educate their children in America and in Europe, the Japanese veto the plan. No passports are issued to Koreans to go to America or Europe to attend school. When they go they must escape the country, risking the peril of being caught and punished by the Government. "Korea has been Prussianized," says Tyler Dennett, who has visited the Far East twice, once as a magazine writer, and later in connection with the Centenary Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. "Japan has even gone so far as to forbid Korean students to come to the United States to finish their education. The Prussianizing of Alsace-Lorraine never went to such an extent as that."¹

It is true that the Korean students may go to Japan. But there they are again met with difficulties. They must do one of two things before entering a Japanese college or university. They must begin all over again in Japan, from grammar school up, and very few boys of sixteen or seventeen are willing to do that, or they must take entrance examinations which are made especially difficult for Korean students. "Even if he were able to take the entrance examination and qualified himself, he is given only a certificate when he completes the course, for the reason that he does not hold the diploma from the next lower school in the same system. It goes without saying that the holder of a certificate does not enjoy any of the privileges that a

¹Tyler Dennett, "The Road to Peace, via China," *Outlook*, 117: 168-169, October 3, 1917.

regular diploma carries.”¹ Despite all his discrimination and handicap, there are several thousand Korean students in Japan, who are holding more than their own in Japanese schools. The fact that the Government-General sends a number of Korean students to Japan is hardly worth mentioning, as it is done to show to the Western public that the Japanese Government is encouraging education among Koreans. These Government students are picked not on scholastic merit, nor from deserving students who need financial aid; but from the sons of well-to-do Koreans who are not openly antagonistic to Japanese rule. Their schools and the course of study are prescribed by the Government, and they have no choice of their own. As a rule they are directed to industrial schools, but are barred from institutions of higher learning.

Taking all these things into consideration, is it any wonder that the Koreans are convinced that the Japanese educational system in Korea is to keep the Korean people as ignorant as possible? Their language is forbidden; their history is forgotten; their civilization is scorned; of the outer world they are allowed to know nothing; all the vast body of human knowledge is locked to them. Korean children must be given just enough training to enable them to be intelligent servants of the Japanese in the future. Every Korean child knows it, so the youngsters gather in little groups of three and four after school to study the Korean language. Indeed, the earnestness with which the Korean children cling to their own nationality is an inter-

¹ Hugh H. Cynn, *The Rebirth of Korea*, pp. 107-108.

esting study, if not an inspiring lesson. Equally interesting is the way in which the Japanese Government covers up the suppression of the Korean mind, and tries to assure the outside world that the Koreans are being "civilized" under the intelligent guidance of Japan. The following excerpt from the pen of an American journalist will give the reader a clearer idea of Japan's educational program in Korea:

Perhaps Japan does considerably more "viewing with alarm" than "pointing with pride" in Korea, but whenever she does choose to point, she picks out the Government school system. Knowing the appeal that free education has for every American, Japanese officials always lay considerable stress on this phase of the administration. Though one or two of the larger schools in Seoul are not bad to look upon, a little study proves that the success of the educational system is chiefly mythical. In the first place, the Japanese have placed most of the emphasis upon vocational training—regarded as a deadly insult by the Koreans, who, it must be remembered, were once the leading scholars of the Orient and the tutors of the Japanese. Secondly, they do not admit any child to school under eight years of age, which means that two school years are wasted—a serious matter when children are obliged to complete their education while still very young.

Comparatively few of the schools provide for more than four years of work. From a source which is undoubtedly reliable but which for obvious reasons is unquotable, we learned that only one Korean child out of ten of school age is actually in school; and that though the Japanese make up but two per cent. of the resident population, their children absorb more than sixty per cent. of the educational funds.

From first to last, Japanese administration of Korea has been a tragedy of errors. Japan made the initial mistake of cutting her policy of subjugation after a Von Bissing pattern. She also seemed to copy that peculiar German near-sightedness which makes it impossible to discover the features of another's psychology. If Japanese officials had lain awake nights trying to think up ways of making themselves unpopular with the Koreans, they could not have succeeded more completely.¹

¹ Elsie McCormick, "The Iron Hand in Korea," *Christian Herald* (New York), Vol. 43, pp. 469, 493, April 17, 1920.

VIII

IMPOSITION OF SOCIAL EVILS

MORALITY is a relative term; its interpretation shifts with different people and with different ages. Thus, what is condoned in one age becomes unpardonable in another, and what is unmoral with one people is quite often moral with others. In weighing the moral standards of a people, therefore, we should weigh them on the scale of their traditional culture, and not on that of our own. It is not command and obedience, but problem and free choice that makes true morality. Thus, every people should have a large latitude to decide for itself as to what is moral and what is not. But when a people whose social standards are decidedly immoral in the opinion of the enlightened world attempts to force its ethical code upon an unwilling race, the matter becomes serious.

Every nation has a certain amount of social evil to combat. But in Japan social evil is not combatted; on the contrary, it is encouraged by leaders of thought and of state affairs. Thus, it is not mere assertion to state that Japan is the most immoral nation in the world. The Japanese principal of a large normal school is reported as openly stating to Mr. Galen W.

Fisher, Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Tokyo, that he not only patronized houses of ill fame himself, but that he advised his teachers to do so, and that he even gave them tickets so that at the end of each month the bills would be sent to him for payment and deduction made from their salaries. One hundred and seven districts were investigated by Captain Bechel, a traveler in Japan for seventeen years. He found ninety-six of them pestilently immoral. He reports that phallic worship is still practised in many Buddhist shrines, and that in some districts almost all the adults are tainted with immorality. He speaks of a principal of a school who had several paramours with the knowledge of parents and children alike; of a member of Parliament who publicly had two concubines; of a member of a Provisional Assembly who had two wives and two homes, with children in each, and who travelled with *geisha*; and of a *soncho* (chief of village) who sold a girl of twelve years, whose parents could not support her, for ten yen, because she might become a charge on the village.¹

Ernest W. Clement, a long resident of Japan, who is familiar with the social conditions of Japan, writes in his *Handbook of Modern Japan*:

As is well known, the social evil is licensed, and therefore legalized, in Japan; it is not merely not condemned but actually condoned. In Old Japan, the young girl will-

¹*Japanese Young Men in War and Peace*, published by the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., New York, and "Japan's Need and Response," in the *Missionary Review of the World*, January, 1917, pp. 5-6.

ing to sell herself to a life of shame to relieve the poverty and distress of her parents, would be considered virtuous, because filial piety was regarded as a higher virtue than personal chastity. Nor would the parents who accepted such relief be severely condemned, because the welfare of the family was more important than the condition of the individual. And even in Modern Japan, in the eyes of the law, it is no crime to visit a licensed house of ill fame; and visitors to such places hand in their cards and have their names registered just as if they were attending an ordinary public function. Nay, more, an ex-president of the Imperial University and one of the leading philosophers and educators of the day, has come out in public print and affirmed that from the standpoint of science and philosophy, he can see no evil in prostitution *per se*.¹

It was said of the late Prince Ito, the most enlightened and eminent statesman of modern Japan, that he engaged himself in grave state affairs in the daytime and spent the night in vice. While he was Premier, a foreign missionary reproved him for setting a bad example to the younger generation. The Premier replied: "I would rather give up the post of the premier, abandon the leadership of my party, and lose the respect of my people than to forego my licentious pleasures."

Although separated only by a strait, the Korean people had their social standards founded on the Confucian moral codes, and even in the most profligate period of their history, they never sank to the level of moral degeneracy that the Japanese are now and have been in, during the two thousand years of their

¹*A Handbook of Modern Japan*, pp. 166-167.

history. Du Halde, the great geographer of the eighteenth century, described the people of Korea as "generally well made and of sweet and tractable disposition; they understand the Chinese language, delight in learning and are given to music and dancing." He further told that their manners were "so well regulated that theft and adultery were crimes unknown among them, so that there was no occasion to shut street doors at night; and although the revolutions which are fatal to all states may have somewhat changed this former innocence, yet they have still enough of it left to be a pattern to other nations."

Before the influx of Japanese into Korea, there were no houses of ill fame in the country, although there were about five hundred *kesang* (dancing girls) mostly in Seoul, the largest city in Korea. From their early childhood the *kesang* were instructed in music and dancing, and as a class they were remarkably similar to the American chorus girls. The reputations of some of these girls were considered questionable, but their circle was confined almost exclusively to Seoul, comparatively speaking, the most immoral city in Korea. With the coming of the Japanese, the profession of *kesang*—to entertain people at social functions with their music and dancing—faded away, and the country has been flooded with licensed prostitutes. Japanese not only brought with them thousands of their prostitutes, but they have established Japanese and Korean brothels in every city in the country. They occupy the most prominent and attractive parts of the city, quite often placed in the residential dis-

tricts so as to drive out the sensitive people, who are forced to sell their property to Japanese at nominal prices. Young and ignorant Korean girls are captured by Japanese vultures, often with the aid of the police, to lead the life of shame. In this manner Japan has propagated the "Red Light System" in Korea on an extensive scale. In Seoul alone \$500,000 has been spent in establishing a superb district. Dr. Frank W. Schofield, a Canadian physician at the Union Severance Hospital, who has made a thorough investigation of the system and made thousands of blood tests, submits the following figures with the accompanying testimony that "in no nation are the women as immoral as they are in Japan."

<i>Town</i>	<i>Prostitute Ratio, Korean</i>	<i>Prostitute Ratio, Japanese</i>
Songdo.....	1 to 894 males	1 to 60 males
Choonchun.....	1 to 558 males	1 to 62 males
Seoul.....	1 to 228 males	1 to 60 males ¹

From the above table it is evident that immorality among the Japanese in Korea is about uniform in every district, but among the Koreans the figures increase in proportion to the degree of "Japanization" of the community. Seoul is the most thoroughly "Japanized" city in Korea, hence the high figures of prostitute ratio to its population. Dr. Arthur Judson Brown, the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, in recording his observations of social evils of the Japanese

¹ Frank W. Schofield, "What Korea Suffers from Japan." *The Christian Register*, September 16, 1920, pp. 914-915.

Empire, makes the following statement on the immoral conditions of Korea under Japan:

Conditions substantially similar, although of course on a smaller scale, exist in practically every Japanese colony in Korea. Even where the number of Japanese is very small, it includes prostitutes. The evil is not confined to the "Red Light" districts. *Geisha* (dancing girls) are scattered about every considerable town, and waitresses in many of the inns, restaurants and drinking shops are well understood to be prostitutes, although of course not all of them are. That the authorities know the facts is apparent from statistics which I obtained from official sources during my second visit, and which listed immoral women in Seoul and Pyeng Yang as "prostitutes," "*geisha*," and "waitresses in inns, saloons and restaurants." The official records also showed that there was a monthly tax collected from prostitutes and *geisha*. The number of Korean prostitutes reported by the authorities in Seoul was also given me, and a comparison of the figures showed that one person in thirty-one of the Japanese population of the capital was then classified as immoral, and that only one in 730 of the Korean population was so classified. . . .

Racial distinctions are obliterated by this social evil. Koreans are not only openly solicited to vice, but I was reliably informed that it is not uncommon for Japanese panderers to conduct small travelling parties of prostitutes from village to village in the country districts. The crowning outrage I could not bring myself to believe if the editor of the *Korea Review* had not declared that "it is so fully proved both by foreign and native witnesses that it is beyond dispute. In a certain town in Korea, the military quartered soldiers in some Korean houses, and in others Japanese prostitutes. In a number of instances, Korean Christians were compelled to give

up part of their houses to these prostitutes who carried on their nefarious business on the premises. We made careful inquiries about this unspeakable outrage on decency, and the fact was verified in the positive manner.”¹

Indeed, a Korean “rebel” schoolgirl made a poignant condemnation of the Japanese vice system when she said in her trial before the judge: “You have taken away our private schools and given us public brothels. A teacher’s license is obtained with the greatest of difficulty; a prostitute’s license with the greatest of ease.”

Another consequence of the Japanese military occupation of Korea is the morphine peddlers sanctioned and protected by the Japanese authorities. While Korea was independent, opium smuggling was prohibited under the death penalty, and the country was free from opium fiends, with the exception of a few secret cases in Seoul. But no sooner had the Japanese occupied the country than it was infested by morphine mongers from Japan. F. A. McKenzie, a war correspondent of the *London Daily Mail*, in recording his personal observations in Korea shortly after the Japanese occupation, says:

One act on the part of the Japanese surprised most of those who knew them best. In Japan itself opium smoking is prohibited under the heaviest penalties, and elaborate precautions are taken to shut opium, in any of its forms, out of the country. Strict anti-opium laws were also enforced in Korea under the old administration. The Japanese, however, now permit numbers of

¹A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, pp. 383-384.

their people to travel through the interior of Korea selling morphia to the natives. In the northwest in particular this caused quite a wave of morphia-mania.¹

The Japanese Government in Korea, moved by the desire of the revenue to be derived from opium traffic and of utilizing this agency to degenerate the native population, steadily encouraged the use of opium in all of its baneful forms. Finally, it was thought by the Japanese that the business would be more lucrative if the poppy were cultivated in Korea. They introduced the poppy and encouraged the Korean and Japanese farmers to cultivate it. "The Government's annual budget for promoting poppy culture in Korea is \$182,000."²

With this Government subsidy and encouragement back of it, the poppy culture in Korea has increased to alarming proportions. In the summer of 1917, Rev. E. W. Thwing, the Oriental Secretary of the International Reform Bureau, of Peking, China, made a trip to Korea investigating the morphia-evil in the peninsula. His report contained the following:

This spring I heard rumours that opium was being grown in Korea to be sold to the Chinese. I could not find out as to the truth of the report. After all that China had accomplished, it did not seem possible that Japan would begin the cultivation of this drug which has become an international danger. I went to Korea this summer to make investigations. The reports proved too

¹ F. A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, p. 114.

² *The Bulletin of International Reform Bureau*, Washington, August 15, 1919.

true. I met Koreans who had seen it growing. One missionary counted thirteen fields of growing opium poppy in his district. I was told that Japanese officials had provided the seeds and had encouraged the Koreans to plant opium, saying that they would make much money.¹

"In Korea poppy fields are being extended with increasing rapidity, one missionary reporting a thousand acres in his district," says a religious weekly of New York. The "New Opium Ordinance for Korea" practically established a Japanese Government monopoly in opium traffic. In this Ordinance, morphia stands out as the main drug wanted, and Article IV stipulates that if the opium brought in by the Korean farmers does not contain the required amount of morphia, the opium shall be destroyed without payment. "Another portion of the regulation states that the opium sold is to be for the manufacture of morphia as well as other derivatives, and indicates the importance of the morphine to be secured. . . . The new regulations for Korea put the control of the matter into the hands of drug men and police, even though these men have been the greatest offenders in the past. . . . Many believe that this new opium policy for Korea will bring much danger, and large discredit, to Japan."²

Dr. Arthur Judson Brown sums up the morphine evil in Korea as follows:

The situation is serious in Korea. Most of the Koreans are not sensitive about it, but the more enlightened are, and every real friend of the people is distressed by it. The traffic is contrary to Japanese law, but

¹ *Peking Gazette*, October 3, 1917.

² *The Continent* (New York), October 2, 1919.

it is conducted more or less openly by Japanese, particularly in the country districts, where peddlers spread the morphine and opium habit among multitudes of Koreans. The Japanese strictly enforce their law in Japan, and magistrates in Korea will usually punish a trafficker if the case is brought so directly to their notice that they cannot escape responsibility; but they will seldom press matters unless compelled to do so, and the effort to make them is apt to be unpleasant. Thousands of Koreans are learning the use of the morphine syringe from these Japanese itinerant venders. . . . Every hospital in Korea now has to treat opium and morphine fiends. Opium smoking was brought to Korea by the Chinese long ago, but the evil has never been so great as it is now. Protests of missionaries are beginning to make some impression, but the demoralization of Koreans continues.¹

Whatever may be the anti-opium regulations framed by the Japanese for Korea, they are but designed to show to foreigners when any such call the attention of the officials to the traffic; they are never intended to be enforced. By officially encouraging opium traffic in Korea, the Japanese administration obtains what it aims at: (1) considerable revenue; (2) steady but quiet annihilation of the Korean population by systematic poisoning.

The problem of liquor, though not as baneful as that of opium and morphine, deserves mention. As old as Korean history was the custom that every town should exercise municipal jurisdiction over liquor traffic. Nearly every large city, under the old Government, had saloons, but seldom, if ever, did a village possess

¹A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 390.

a drinking place. Under Japanese rule, all this has been swept aside, and saloons are licensed in every town and village regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants. The petition from the Federal Council of the Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea, presented to the Governor-General, Admiral Saito, on September 29, 1919, voices its protest against the official licensing of liquor traffic in Korea, as follows:

We request, also, the reformation of the laws concerning the liquor traffic, and ask the restoration of the power of local option which existed under the former Korean administration, by which the people of a village were able to prohibit the establishment of saloons in their vicinity. Now, under police protection, licenses are issued, and saloons established against the wishes of the people.

There are a number of minor social evils in connection with the above named. Cabaret houses and drinking shops were never as numerous in Korea as they are now. Cigarette smoking among boys has, likewise, been increased. Koreans have used tobacco for many centuries, but cigarettes were unknown until they were brought in by the Japanese. It was a grave breach of etiquette, according to the time-honoured custom in Korea, for a minor to smoke in the presence of his elders. To-day, all these customs are being swept away, and no substitutes have been introduced. It is not uncommon to see boys of nine and ten smoking cigarettes in the street. Some years ago, Pastor Kil of Pyeng Yang was arrested and punished for preaching against the evil of cigarette smoking among

boys. Dr. William T. Ellis, the well-known religious writer in America, was in Korea at that time, and he gives the analysis of the charge as follows:

One of the most absurd of the recent arrests reported from North Korea—I have the story from the lips of a Presbyterian missionary—was that of Pastor Kil, the great minister of the Central Presbyterian Church of Pyeng Yang, a church which has “swarmed” forty-one times. Pastor Kil was among those arrested for treason. The charge, analyzed, was that he had advised Christian boys not to smoke cigarettes. The manufacture of cigarettes, reasoned the Japanese, is a Government monopoly; to speak against their use is to injure a Government institution; to injure a Government institution is to work against the Government; to work against the Government is treason; and therefore, Pastor Kil was charged with treason!¹

Not so devitalizing to the Korean stamina as the evils mentioned above, yet tending to lower the social morals of the country is the public bath. In Japan men and women bathe together in public bath houses. This custom has been introduced into Korea by Japanese, and public bath houses have been established in every Korean city. Of course, no Korean women ever resort to these places. But the very existence of them is demoralizing to society. However, this evil is not without its compensating benefit to the Korean, for it helps him to realize that his culture is decidedly higher than that of his conqueror. Dr. James Gale, a British missionary in Korea for over thirty years, considers

¹ William T. Ellis, “Christianity’s Fiery Trial in Korea,” *The Continent*, June 27, 1912, p. 897.



A Typical Korean Church and Its Congregation—Simple and Lowly, but Faithful and Active.



One of Many Thousands of Japanese Houses of Ill-fame Fostered by the Japanese Government in Korea to Corrupt the Morals of Korean Young Men.

TWO COUNTERACTING SOCIAL FORCES IN KOREA

this as one of the points of contrast between the Korean and the Japanese character.

Says Dr. Gale:

The Korean guards his person and his women folk from the public eye with the most rigid exactitude. The Japanese, on the other hand, goes nude without any thought of obscenity, and his men and women bathe together in a public bath with all the innocence of Botticelli's Eve. This to the Korean is the limit of indecency and renders him wholly incapable of ever understanding the Japanese point of view.¹

In fairness to the Japanese, it must be said that they did not bring the public bath to Korea with the deliberate intention of destroying Korean character, as in the case of opium and other vices mentioned. It is their national custom which they have brought with them and are forcing upon the Korean people as a part of their Japanizing program. It, none the less, has its demoralizing effect in the community.

Japan is a nation of copyists. With quick perception and marvellous ability to imitate, the Japanese have copied from America and Europe all that is expedient and efficacious. But, so far, they have singularly failed to assimilate any of the fundamental principles of Western civilization. Thus, in material progress—especially in their army and navy—Japan is one of the "Big Five" powers of the world. But in the attainments of the finer qualities of civilization, which we call culture, Japan is the most backward of

¹James S. Gale, "The Missionary Outlook in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1920, p. 118.

modern nations. She has had her political and industrial revolutions, but her moral and spiritual revolutions are yet to come. And, until she has gone through a reformation of the conscience, she cannot long hold a position in the family of enlightened nations.

“Men still cry for special revolutions,” says Henrik Ibsen, “for political revolutions are but trumpery and external. It is the human soul that must revolt.”

IX

THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH

AT a banquet given in honour of Bishop and Mrs. Herbert Welch at Columbus, Ohio, where the Methodist Episcopal Church held the famous Centenary Celebration during July and August, 1919, a Korean leader spoke on the mission of the Korean race in the Far East. "There are two things we hope to accomplish," he said. "We want to make Korea a democracy and a Christian democracy." Christianity from time immemorial has sown the seed of democracy. It taught the dignity of man and sanctity of human rights, and has been a powerful enemy of the tyrant everywhere it went. The Japanese tyrant and the Christian Church in Korea are no exceptions.

The Korean Church is unique in its organization and virility. Although nominally under the supervision of the missionaries, it is a self-governing body. The Korean Church not only supports itself, but has sent out missionaries to other lands. In 1918 the Presbyterian Church alone sent out forty-eight missionaries, including three to Shantung Peninsula to convert their Chinese brethren. The Korean Christians give not only one-tenth of their income, but also, one-

tenth of their service to the Church. In short, the Christians are the leaven in the Korean population. They are among the most progressive, self-reliant and efficient of all Koreans. They may submit to injustice and be obedient to Japanese laws, but they will not deny their faith or forget their nationality. They have demonstrated that they could die for the cause of righteousness and die willingly. Japan does not look with favour upon an agency that makes men of this independent sort. She was convinced that Christianity, more than any other institution, would stiffen Korea's moral fiber, awaken the dormant intellectual life and revitalize the manhood of the apparently dead nation. Something must be done to check the further propagation of Christianity and to crush the already existing influence of the Church.

Peaceful methods were employed at first. "Missionaries" from the Japanese Congregational Church, which is a semi-official organization in religious garb, and Shinto and Buddhist priests were brought over from Japan to convert the Koreans. The special mission of the Japanese Congregational "missionaries" was to proselytize the Korean Christians so as to undermine the Korean Church. The Shinto and Buddhist priests were to reach the non-Christian population. Magnificent temples were built to these sects, and the Koreans were approached to join these organizations with alluring promises of favour from the Government. But Koreans saw the intention of Japan in all this, and turned a deaf ear to those religious propagandists of the Japanese Government. The whole

project of peaceful conquest of the Korean Christians turned out to be a fiasco.

Governor-General Terauchi promptly decided to use the easiest method at his disposal—the method against which the Koreans would have no recourse—force. In the autumn of 1911, the most prominent leading Christians throughout the country were arrested by wholesale on the charge that they had been conspiring to murder the Governor-General. They were grilled through the usual process of “preliminary examinations.” “Confessions” were prepared by the police for the prisoners to sign under secret tortures, which were repudiated in open court by the prisoners. Nine were exiled without trial, three died as a direct result of tortures, and one hundred and twenty-three were brought to trial on June 28, 1912, in the district court of Seoul. The counsel for the defense was not allowed to produce witnesses who could have testified to alibis, and the judges sided with the police in basing their decisions on the strength of torture-wrung “confessions.” On September 28, one hundred and six of the accused men were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to ten years.¹

Unfortunately for the Japanese Government, this travesty of justice aroused considerable criticism in the West. Dr. Arthur Judson Brown, the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, in a remarkably clear pamphlet, *The Korean Conspiracy Case*, laid bare how the whole case was manufactured by the police to trap the most

¹ Cf. *Current Literature*, December, 1912, pp. 631-633.

progressive Korean leaders. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, wrote from Tokyo on September 4, 1912, "The standing of Japan among Western nations would be improved by judicious modifications of her preliminary proceedings against alleged criminals."¹ James Gordon Bennett, the owner of the *New York Herald*, dispatched the *Herald's* trusted Peking Correspondent, J. K. Ohl, to Seoul to report the case. Mr. Ohl cabled the proceedings to his paper, which remorselessly revealed the entire fabrication of the Japanese police with which the court was in league. Dr. W. W. Pinson, the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, made a special trip to Korea to investigate the case. Among other things, he reported:

One of the striking things about this body of prisoners is its personnel. If one is here looking for weak and cringing cowards or brazen desperadoes he will be disappointed. Instead, he will see men erect, manly, self-respecting and intelligent. There are many faces that bear the marks of unusual strength and nobility of character. As a whole they are a body of men of far better quality than one would expect to see in the same number of men anywhere in this country. On closer investigation it is made clear that the gendarmes have thrust their sickle in among the tallest wheat. These men do not belong to the criminal or irresponsible class of society. Most of them are Presbyterians, trained after the strictest sect of the Shorter Catechism. These are not the type of men to be guilty of such a plot as that with

¹ Quoted by Brown in the pamphlet mentioned.

which they are charged. They are too intelligent. They might be capable of a desperate venture for a great cause, but they could not possibly undertake anything idiotic.¹

Foreign criticism compelled Japan to permit the appeal in the case, and the Court of Appeals was instructed by the Governor-General to use "conciliatory methods," as a result of which all the prisoners were released except six. Five of these were sentenced to six years' penal servitude, and one to five years. They were the most prominent leaders, Baron Yun Chi Ho, a former member of the Korean Cabinet, President of the Southern Methodist College at Songdo, Vice-President of the Korean Y. M. C. A., and Yang Kai Tak, the best known Korean author and journalist, being among them.² The alleged crimes with which they were charged were identical with those of the released; their sentence was nothing more than a face-saving device of the Japanese Government in Korea. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions of America, which made official representations to the Japanese Embassy at Washington concerning the Korean "Conspiracy Case," was approached by semi-official representatives of the Japanese Government in America with the suggestion that all the prisoners would be pardoned if the American Presbyterian Church would admit their guilt and appeal to the Japanese Government for "clemency." This was flatly refused. The

¹ Full report published in the *New York Herald*, September 29, 1912.

² Cf. "Korea's Plight Under Japan," *The Presbyterian Banner*, July 16, 1914.

Japanese Government was chagrined at the failure of their officially hatched scheme of reducing the influence of Christianity in Korea, and all the accused were released in February, 1915, at the time of the coronation of the Emperor, as a mark of Imperial "clemency."¹

The "Conspiracy Case" did not daunt the Korean Christians. The position of the Korean Church, strange to say, was strengthened rather than weakened. In it the Koreans found comfort and support for their wounded personal injury and national honour. Denied access to the outer world, imprisoned by their hated conquerors, they received through Christianity a contact with far-away nations, who seemed to have far kindlier ideals than the Japanese. And best of all, it gave them hope to "carry on." They were not resigned to fate. On the contrary, they were eternally restless. The static idealism of the Orient was suddenly changed into a dynamic power, and dying a martyr's death for the sake of their faith and for the cause of their national freedom was considered the duty of every true Christian in Korea. Very aptly, William T. Ellis, the well-known religious writer in America, described the fiber of the Korean Christian in the following words: "In all the wide realm of foreign missions, there is no group of converts better qualified to pass through triumphantly the fires of persecution than the Korean Christians. From the standpoint of Christian testimony, this dreadful story of persecution in Korea is a romantic and glorious one."

¹ A complete record of the "Korean Conspiracy Case," published by *Japan Chronicle* in a pamphlet.

The Japanese authorities now decided to tighten their stranglehold on the Korean Church in a less obvious way. "Educational Ordinances" were promulgated in 1915, forbidding religious instructions in mission schools under the pretext of separating education from religion, and requiring of all mission schools to have a Japanese supervisor appointed by the Bureau of Education. Mission schools were required to report to the Government all the details of their work every day. No new schools were to be established without the Government permit, and no Christian clergyman was allowed to preach without a Government license. Obtaining permits from the Government was made next to impossible, and the authorities "advised" the Koreans not to send their children to mission schools. All teaching must be conducted in the Japanese language, and any school that did not meet with these requirements was to be closed by the Government.

Those schools which had a Government permit when the Ordinances were announced were given ten years in which to adapt themselves to the new requirements. Other schools must immediately conform or close. The Presbyterian Academy for Boys at Syen Chun and the Southern Presbyterian Academy for Girls at Soon Chun, although established before the law went into effect, had not received permits on account of technical delays, yet were closed by magistrates. Thus the missionaries and Christian workers were being deprived of their former rights under the old Korean Government and denied the privileges en-

joyed by their fellow-workers in Japan proper. The Rev. James E. Adams, Secretary of the Senate of the Educational Foundation of Korea, rightly observes that "the situation is not at all that which obtains in Japan itself. In Japan proper, because of the common schools where education is compulsory, there are but few mission schools. In such schools as exist, however, religious instruction is not forbidden. If the mission school conforms to the Government system, secularizes and meets the other conditions, it has certain privileges which other schools do not have. It may, however, not conform and continue to operate, in which case it has the utmost freedom of religious instruction in its curriculum. Of this type is our Meiji Gakuin, and the Methodist Aoyama Gakuin. The option given is: 'Conform or stay out.' Here the option is: 'Conform or close up.' One is an option of permission, the other an option of suppression. In this they are fundamentally different, and in so far, the situation in Korea is more grave than it has been in Japan. No liberty of choice is given. It is secularize or go out of business."¹

In laying these restrictions the Japanese administration in Korea had two things in view. First, to hinder the work of the missionaries with an infinite amount of red-tape technicalities, so that the missionaries would gradually leave the country under pressure. In this they have partially succeeded, as a number of very

¹ Cf. "Japanese Nationalism and Mission Schools in Chosen," *The International Review of Missions*, Vol. VI, No. 21, January, 1917, pp. 74-98.

prominent missionaries, long residents of Korea, have left the field.¹ The other object the Government had hoped to attain was to eliminate the mission schools, and thereby compel all Korean children to be trained under altered conditions. In this way they could complete their program of Japanizing Korea in a single generation. But in this attempt they have signally failed.

The very attempt to make loyal Japanese out of Korean children produced an opposite effect on the mind of the Korean youngsters. A few incidents typical of the Korean children in their attitude towards the Japanese will illustrate this.

On one occasion in a church two soldiers marched rudely in during the service and went right up to the women's side, where, as usual, many children were sitting with the women. Said one small girl aloud, pointing with her thin forefinger: "Look at those Japanese rascals!" Another small girl had been counting the gaslights in the church and was saying: "One, two, three, four gaslights." "Hush," said a small companion, "don't say 'gas,' that is a Japanese word!"

A ten-year-old Korean schoolboy was describing a detested Japanese schoolmaster. He said, "He is short-necked with a very thin face. It is the face of a beast gradually changed into a man. He shakes his sword at us. His eye is like the eye of a snake looking through grass. His expression is the expression of a fox unhappily pursued by hunters and taking refuge in the cleft of a rock. When he looks down at us with wide-

¹ Cf. *The Missionary Review of the World*, June, 1913, pp. 450-453.

opening eyes, there is no love that can be found in his whole appearance, only pride and anger.”¹

The Japanese officials were getting desperate over the failure of their efforts. They were at sea as to what step they should take next. Lacking broad-mindedness and sympathetic understanding, they can never see the problem in proper perspective. They have an exalted opinion of their position and underestimate the Korean capacity. They rage at the failure of their attempts, and without stopping to find the underlying cause. They shift the blame upon the Korean and the Christian missionary, but never think of blaming themselves. Once a boy of fourteen, under arrest for participating in the Independence Demonstration, was asked by the officials, “Who put you up to this?” Pointing to the Chief of Police, he answered wittily, “There is the man who made me do it!” The Japanese merely thought the boy was crazy.

When the Independence Movement broke out in March, 1919, all the pent-up hatred and suspicion of the Japanese officials in Korea towards the Christians was given vent. Desecrating the Church and destroying mission schools at once became the favourite pastime of the Japanese soldiers. Christians were singled out for persecution. A traveller on the highroad would be stopped and questioned by Japanese soldiers whether he was a Christian. If he was non-Christian, he would be released. But if he were a Christian, he would be mortally beaten or shot on the spot.

¹“Warring Mentalities in the Far East,” *Asia*, August, 1920, pp. 693-701.

A Canadian missionary, in a report to his Home Board, on April 25, 1919, writes:

They have questioned all prisoners particularly whether the missionaries led the uprising. Thank God, so far, our people have had the strength through torture to tell the truth. In our town over one thousand Koreans are in prison. Many are Christians who are beaten and tortured in an endeavour to make them say that the missionaries led them into asking for independence. Women are kicked and beaten to make them tell where their husbands and sons are. A woman was brought in here yesterday, her body horribly mutilated, stamped on by spurred boots. Just the other day seven were beaten to death.¹

A lady missionary, at another place, wrote to the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, the Assistant Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions of Canada:

A number of churches are being burned. One, where the Christians were called together by the authorities, was surrounded by soldiers, who fired among them and shot many of them; some tried to escape, only to meet the bayonet. The building was set on fire, and the survivors burned to death—thirty-one in all. It is worse than the Hun, and a holocaust that cannot be beaten by the Turk. Torture in the prison is the order of the day. Many die under the stripes they receive. It is a reign of terror; with the Christians as marked men. Many a lash the poor Korean Christians in jail here receive, especially when they try to force them to say that the missionaries urged the Koreans in their call for independence. Schools are closed; our churches are still open, though they are closed and being burned in other places.

¹ Quoted by Rev. A. E. Armstrong in an article published in *The Toronto Globe*, Toronto, Canada, July 12, 1919.

March 4, with the first cry of *Mansei*, my husband rushed down town. He was gone about an hour. He came back crying aloud: "My God! Such a sight! Japanese coolies out with fire-hooks and clubs tearing and rending the poor, unarmed Koreans to bits!" He met my Bible woman's husband, dragged along by two coolies, his head gashed open and one leg dragging limp.

This form of Christian persecution aroused vigorous protest not only from missionaries in Korea, but also from different denominations in America and Canada. The Methodist General Conference, which met in Des Moines, Iowa, May, 1920, in a resolution passed on May 25, vigorously condemned "all forms of national aggression, whether military or economic, which invades the sovereignty of other states. We stand, as Christians, resolutely opposed to those groups in any and every land which are militaristic in spirit and imperialistic in aim." After deploring the "lamentable outrages in Korea during the past fifteen months, when under the Japanese rule brutalities, killings, burnings and torturings have occurred," the resolution poignantly concludes: "Especially would we express our sympathy with our fellow-Christians who have suffered the loss of Church property and in some cases of life itself. While we can ask no special exemption for any because they are Christians, we have a right to ask that none suffer violence or imprisonment simply because they are Christians."¹

¹ Submitted by Titus Lowe, Chairman of Committee on Foreign Missions, and unanimously adopted by the Conference. Full text found in *The Daily Christian Advocate* (official organ of the General Conference), May 26, 1920.

An exhaustive description of Christian persecutions by the Japanese in Korea during the year, 1919, would fill a volume. The following extract, taken from the annual report (1918-19) of the American Presbyterian Mission Station at Pyeng Yang, is typical of the conditions of the Church in its relation with the Independence Movement. From the description of the plight of this one district, the reader may form an idea of the fate of other Christian communities all over Korea.

* * * * * * *

To sum up what has been committed against the Church in the Pyeng Yang territory by the police, gendarmes and soldiers, in line with the statements made above, we give the following:

1. They have arrested many of the leaders of the churches, including pastors, helpers, and school teachers. Many of the rest have fled for safety, for the Church leaders seem to have been singled out for punishment and persecution regardless of guilt or innocence.
2. They have seriously damaged nineteen church buildings and broken the bells in others.
3. They have expropriated the property of at least one Church for other purposes without asking for or receiving permission to use the same.
4. Twenty-six churches have been forced to close for periods up to three months and more.
5. Many church schools have been forced to close in both city and country, because of the arrest of teachers, for periods up to three months and more.
6. Helpers, pastors and Bible women have been ordered to stop preaching in many places.
7. Christian literature has been seized and destroyed in many places.

8. The police have ordered the non-Christians to drive the Christians out of their homes in several places.

9. All the students in the Union Christian College and the Boys' Academy in Pyeng Yang were ordered arrested by the Chief of Police whether guilty of any offense or not.

10. Christians have been discriminated against in many ways, of which the following are typical:

(a) In the special severity shown Christians in connection with the spring "clean up."

(b) In the frequency and severity of beatings administered by police in the performance of their official duties.

(c) In the special effort to arrest and punish the leaders of the churches on the ground that they were *per se* leaders, too, in the independence movement.

11. Christian women in the country have been terrorized by police, gendarmes and soldiers.

12. The pastor of the Congregational Church for Koreans (under Japanese control), Mr. Takahashi, has visited certain of our churches and, assisted by police, has forced Christians to gather and listen to addresses intended to alienate them from the missionaries and their present church connection, and attempted to proselyte for his church. This was done with the knowledge and assistance of petty government officials.

X

INDIGNITIES TO MISSIONARIES

THE Japanese policy in Korea towards foreigners has been one of gradual, but no less sure, exclusion. After the protectorate was established in 1905, Mr. F. A. McKenzie travelled all through the interior of Korea as the special correspondent of the *London Daily Mail*. In 1907, Mr. McKenzie wrote in his book, *The Tragedy of Korea*:

Everything that is possible has been done to rob the white man of whatever prestige is yet left to him. The most influential white men in Korea are the missionaries, and they have a large, enthusiastic, and growing following. Careful and deliberate attempts have been engineered to induce their converts to turn from the lead of the English and American teachers and to throw in their lot with the Japanese. The native Press, under Japanese editorship, systematically preaches anti-white doctrines. Any one who mixes freely with the Korean people hears from them, time after time, of the principles the Japanese would fain have them learn. I have been told of this by ex-Cabinet Ministers, by young students, and even by native servants.

* * * * *

The lowered status of the white in Korea can be clearly seen by the attitude of many of the Japanese towards him. I have heard stories from friends of my own, residents in the country, quiet and inoffensive peo-

ple that have made my blood boil. It is difficult, for instance, to restrain one's indignation when a missionary lady tells you of how she was walking along the street when a Japanese soldier hustled up against her and deliberately struck her in the breast. The Roman Catholic bishop was openly insulted and struck by Japanese soldiers in his own cathedral, and nothing was done. The story of Mr. and Mrs. Weigall typifies others. Mr. Weigall is an Australian mining engineer, and was travelling up north with his wife and assistant, Mr. Taylor, and some Korean servants, in December, 1905. He had full authorizations and passports and was going about his business in a perfectly proper manner. His party was stopped at one point by some Japanese soldiers, and treated in a fashion which it is impossible fully to describe in print. They were insulted, jabbed at with bayonets, and put under arrest. One soldier held his gun close to Mrs. Weigall and struck her full in the chest with his closed fist when she moved. The man called them by the most insulting names possible, keeping the choicest phrases for the lady. Their servants were kicked. Finally, they were allowed to go away after a long delay and long exposure to bitter weather, repeated insults being hurled after them. The British authorities took up this case. There was abundant evidence, and there could be no dispute about the facts. All the satisfaction, however, that the Weigalls could obtain was a nominal apology.

Then there was the case of the Rev. Mr. McRae, a Canadian missionary living in northeastern Korea. Mr. McRae had obtained some land for a mission station, and the Japanese military authorities there wanted it. They drove stakes into part of the property, and he, thereupon, represented the case to the Japanese officials, and after at least twice asking them to remove their stakes, he pulled them up himself. The Japanese waited

until a fellow-missionary, who lived with Mr. McRae, had gone away on a visit, and then six soldiers entered his compound and attacked him. He defended himself so well that he finally drove them off, although he received some bad injuries, especially from the blows from one of the men's rifles. Complaint was made to the chief authorities, and, in this case, the Japanese promised to punish the officer concerned. But there have been dozens of instances affecting Europeans of all ranks, from consular officials to chance visitors. In most cases the complaints are met by a simple denial on the part of the Japanese. Even where the offense is admitted and punishment is promised, the Europeans will assure you that the men, whom it has been promised to imprison, come and parade themselves outside their houses immediately afterwards in triumph. In Korea, as in Formosa, the policy is to-day to humiliate the white man by any means and in any way.

After driving out all the European and American business men by trade discrimination, the Japanese Government sought devices by which to eliminate the remainder of the foreigners—the missionaries, some 400 of them—without technically violating the existing treaty obligations with the Western Powers. When mission board secretaries and prominent Church men visit Korea and Japan, they are assured by the Japanese authorities that the missionary work in Korea is not only unmolested but actually encouraged by the powers that be. This is to create an impression at the different missionary headquarters that if ever trouble arose between the missionaries and the Japanese authorities, it would be all due to the indiscretion of the missionaries and not the fault of the Japanese admin-

istration. The mission board authorities were thus hoodwinked as to the actual difficulties that their workers were placed under in Korea. Any complaint that they sent in against the Japanese in Korea was pigeonholed, as a rule, at the home office. The missionaries themselves preferred rather to suffer in silence the petty annoyances and official interference of the Japanese authorities than to make any complaint to their Boards. Dr. Brown gives the reason of their reluctance to criticize the Japanese authorities in these words:

This may be due to the belief that their letters are opened by the Japanese, but it is due in larger part to their reluctance to criticize the Japanese except when forced to do so by their immediate relation to specific cases of injustice.¹

It must be remembered that when a missionary opposes wrong in Korea—the sort in which no decent man would acquiesce—he should not be understood as opposing the Japanese Government. His opposition is on the ground of humanity and justice, of which he is the apostle. The missionaries in Korea are, perhaps, the most subservient of all Westerners in the Orient. They are instructed by their respective Home Boards to remain strictly neutral in political matters, and follow the maxim, “Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s.” The constant petty meddling in their work by Japanese underlings, which would not be tolerated by any other body of American or British

¹A. J. Brown, *The Korean Conspiracy Case*, p. 11.

residents in the Far East, is taken as a matter of course. "Our compensation in enduring the petty persecutions of the Japanese officialdom in Korea," said one missionary, "is that we enjoy the respect and confidence of all Koreans, both Christian and non-Christian, which is a constant source of inspiration to us."

✓ The first overt act of the Japanese Government, in their insidious persecution of the missionaries in Korea that drew the attention of the West was in connection with the Conspiracy Case in 1912, when many of the prominent missionaries were charged as being accomplices in a "plot" to assassinate Governor-General Terauchi. The Rev. George S. McCune of Beaver Falls, Pa., whose unimpeachable character is well known among the missionary circles in America and in the Far East, was charged as being the ringleader of the American missionaries, instigating the Koreans to murder the Governor-General. Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard wrote from Tokyo, September 4, 1912, that no American would believe "that a single American missionary was in the slightest degree concerned with the alleged conspiracy." The charges brought against the Americans were so absurd that they reflected no small amount of discredit to the Japanese Government in the public opinion of the West.¹

When open persecutions were not possible, the Japanese would create circumstances and make conditions almost impossible for the missionaries to work under. One missionary wrote as far back as 1912:

¹ Cf. *The Continent* (New York), June 13, 27, July 25, 1912.

It would seem that what the Japanese are aiming to do is to hamper our work so that we will have to leave. They have always been jealous of our influence and incredibly suspicious of our designs, and would, no doubt, be very glad to get rid of us. Then, too, they are smart enough to know that by making the people Christians we are making enlightened people of them, who will be harder to exterminate or to reduce to serfdom than the raw heathens. . . . Our only weapon is public sentiment on the subject in the United States and widespread knowledge of the facts.¹

The missionary had two alternatives: either to endure the petty tyranny of the Japanese and submit to conditions thus created, intolerable though they be, or to leave the country. He chose the former, thereby incurring more hatred and enmity on the part of the Japanese.

When the Independence Demonstrations began in Korea, the authorities requested the missionaries to exert their influence and prestige among the Koreans to pacify the land. In other words, the missionaries were solicited to side with the Japanese to crush the Independence Movement with their weapon of moral suasion. Bishop Herbert Welch, the resident Methodist Bishop of Korea, represented the missionary body as their spokesman. It was, indeed, fortunate for the missionaries in Korea to have as their leader a man of such high caliber and character as Bishop Welch. Thoroughly grounded in scholarship and well trained in administration, Bishop Welch went out to Korea from the Presidency of the Ohio Wesleyan Univer-

¹ Quoted by William T. Ellis, *The Continent*, June 27, 1912.

sity. He commands the confidence of the Koreans and the respect of the Japanese officials. In his conference with the Government authorities he flatly refused to accept their proposal, saying that (1) complying with it would have no effect upon the Movement as the missionaries were not consulted by the Koreans in the plan of demonstration; (2) it would destroy the confidence of the Koreans in the missionaries and create an impression that the missionaries were siding with the Japanese; (3) it would be contrary to the traditional policy of missionaries in maintaining strict neutrality in regard to political affairs and, therefore, would not be sanctioned by the Home Boards.

The Japanese Government officially exonerated the missionaries from implication in the Independence Movement. This was done to sidetrack all responsibility for the persecutions about to be launched by the press and the petty officials under instruction of higher authorities. The Japanese newspapers, in Korea and Japan, soon came out with inflammatory articles accusing the missionaries of being actively connected with the uprising. The following excerpts from representative Japanese dailies in Korea, in Japan and in America will give the reader an idea of Japanese sentiment towards foreign missionaries in Korea.

The *Chosen Shimbum*, the official organ of the Police and Gendarmery Department, at Chemulpo, remarks editorially on March 12, 1919:

Behind this uprising, we see the ghost-like figure waving his wand. This ghost is really hateful, malicious, fierce. Who is this ghost wearing the dark clothes? The

missionaries and the head of the Chuntokyo. These missionaries have come out of the American nation. They have sold themselves for the petty salary of some 300 yen (\$150) per year, and they have crept out like reptiles on their belly as far as Korea. There is nothing of good that can be said of their knowledge, character and disposition.

These messengers of God are only after money and are sitting around their homes with a full stomach. The bad things of the world all start from such trash as these. They planned this dirty work and got into league with the Chuntokyo. If we take all this into consideration, these missionaries are all hated brutes.

The Osaka *Asahi*, one of the noted organs of Japanese liberalism, directed its editorial fire against the activities of Dr. Samuel A. Moffett of Pyeng Yang, who has been in Korea for thirty years. After describing the mission station at Pyeng Yang and its "connection" with the Independence Movement, the editorial proceeds:

The head of the crowd is Moffett. The Christians of the place obey him as they would Jesus Himself. In the twenty-ninth year of Meiji, freedom was given to any one to believe in any religion he wished, and at that time Moffett came to teach the Christian religion. He has been in Pyeng Yang for thirty years, and has bought up a great deal of land. He is really the founder of the foreign community. In this community, because of his efforts, there have been established schools from the primary grade to a college and a hospital. While they are educating the Korean children and healing their diseases on the one hand, on the other there is concealed a clever shadow, and even the Koreans themselves talk of this.

This is the center of the present uprising. It is not in Seoul, but in Pyeng Yang.

It is impossible to know whether these statements are true or false, but we feel certain that it is in Pyeng Yang, in the Church schools—in a certain college and a certain girls' school—in the compound of these foreigners. Really this foreign community is very vile.¹

We would naturally suppose the Japanese publications in America would be thoroughly liberal and democratic in their views, but, as a matter of fact, they are as thoroughly Japanese in their point of view as the official organs of their Government. In the *Los Angeles Daily News*, May 16, 1919, under the title of "Images," appears an invective against American and British missionaries in Korea in connection with the Independence Movement. The following is a translation of a portion of the editorial:

What we hate most is that the fellows who call themselves preachers and religious men participate in this low-down, characteristic movement and try to make Japan disgraceful to the world by calling her an "image worshipper." We feel like breaking the flesh and sucking the blood of such. It is highly probable that some of these privileged preachers, who have been so inoculated by the world that they are full of vice, have taken this opportunity in the movement for Chosen (Korean) independence to fan the flame of patriotism in the Korean's mind in order to secure the good will of the people. It is really a bad intrigue, which is the result of their arrogance and covetousness. We believe that sooner or later their curses will recoil upon them, since the doctrine of Heaven (Buddhism, etc.) is everlasting, and the truth is

¹ Editorial in *Osaka Asahi*, March 17, 1919.

never to be changed. We believe without a single doubt that the so-called Christianity takes the last step into destruction!

The action of the police and soldiers towards the missionaries was in thorough harmony with these editorial sentiments of the Japanese press. The American Consul-General at Seoul was notified to the effect that he should warn his nationals to keep off the streets after dark, as the authorities would not guarantee to protect them. This was significant because at that time it was known that 200 thugs were brought over from Japan to terrorize the missionaries. In Pyeng Yang, the home of Dr. Moffett was guarded by his friends every night. Two American missionary women, Miss Maud Trissel of Iowa, and Mrs. J. Z. Moore of New York, were beaten by Japanese soldiers without even a pretext, and another American woman was thrown into a ditch by a Japanese soldier while she was quietly going about her own business.¹

The American Consul-General at Seoul, Mr. Bergholz, promptly called on the Governor-General Hasegawa, asserting that he would issue no such warning and would hold the authorities responsible in case any of his nationals were molested by the thugs. He demanded a written guarantee for the safety of the life of American citizens, and he did not leave the office of the Governor-General until his demands were satisfied.

¹ Letter written by Miss Grace L. Dillingham of Pyeng Yang to her friend, Mrs. I. L. Lomphey of Flushing, Long Island, published in the *New York Tribune*, May 6, 1919.

This action on the part of Mr. Bergholz insured the safety of the life of the American missionaries, but it did not go far enough to protect them from insults and indignities at the hands of Japanese. "On March 17, a body of police, led by a procurator, came to the Severance Union Medical College, placed guards at all the gates and at intervals through the compound, and searched the various buildings of the institution."¹ In Pyeng Yang the Rev. Stacy L. Roberts and the Rev. E. W. Thwing were marched through the streets to the police station only to be released without trial. American homes were entered and searched, without warrant, in Fusan, Pyeng Yang, Syen Chun and Hamheung. At Fusan, two lady members of the Australian Presbyterian Mission, Miss Davies and Miss Hocking, were dragged into prison on the absurd charge that they were inciting Korean girls to rebellion. They were compelled to stay in the prison for two days with the usual Japanese prison "courtesies" handed to them, after which they were released without trial.²

But the most serious cases were those of the Rev. Ely M. Mowry of Mansfield, Ohio, and the Rev. John Thomas, an English member of the Oriental Missionary Society.

The Rev. Mr. Mowry was a teacher of the Union Christian College and principal of both the boys' and

¹ From a report published in *Congressional Record*, Vol. 58, No. 47, pp. 2847-48, July 17, 1919.

² Cf. Bishop Herbert Welch, "The Korean Independence Movement of 1919," *The Christian Advocate*, July 31, 1919, p. 973.

girls' grammar schools at Pyeng Yang, and he had taught there since 1911. He was arrested on the charge of harbouring "criminals" in his home, one of whom was his Korean secretary. The five boys found in his home were all students of his college, and had stayed there before. "If I had been informed that the police were trying to arrest them and had concealed them it would have been wrong," said Mr. Mowry at his trial. But he was completely ignorant that they were branded as "criminals" by the police. His "trial was held after one day's notice to the accused," thus making it impossible for him to get a lawyer to defend himself.¹ After he was tried and convicted, *then* his friends were notified that they could have obtained a postponement.

Dr. Moffett, who attended the hearing in the case of the Rev. Mr. Mowry before the district court in Pyeng Yang, made a detailed report to the American Consul-General, Mr. Bergholz, at Seoul, in which he said, "I do not believe Mr. Mowry has done anything which renders him liable to law."²

The Rev. Mr. Mowry was sentenced to six months of imprisonment at hard labour. When he appealed from this judgment, the sentence was reduced to four months. An appeal was made to a still higher court, and finally the case ended in the fine of one hundred yen as a "face-saving" device for the Japanese officials.

¹ Report of trial published in the *New York Times*, June 8, 1919.

² Report published in *Congressional Record*, July 17, 1919, pp. 2854-55.



To Add Insult to Injury, the Japanese Police Led the Rev. Mr. Mowry off to Prison in the Oriental "Fool's Cap." Evidently, the American Eagle Has Lost Its Voice in Korea.

The incident that occurred to the Rev. John Thomas, a British subject, was of a more violent character. The Rev. Mr. Thomas was on a tour in South Choong Chung Province. On March 20, he was suddenly attacked by Japanese soldiers and civilians, without the slightest provocation, while he was quietly standing by the roadside. When he produced his passport, it was thrown on the ground and stamped on, as was also a preaching permit which had been given by the Japanese Government. He was formerly a man of splendid physique. But the cruel beating reduced him to a physical wreck. He displayed twenty-nine wounds on his body when examined at a mission hospital. As a result, he withdrew from the Korean mission field, being no longer physically able to carry on the work.

The British Consul-General at Seoul promptly took the matter up with the Japanese authorities. The Japanese apologized for the assault and 5,000 yen (\$2,500) was paid as damages. This is a high tribute to the respect that the Japanese Government has for British subjects when we consider that not even nominal apologies were offered when American women were assaulted by Japanese soldiers.

The comment made by the *Japan Chronicle* on "The Attack on Mr. Thomas," is worthy of note:

Japanese correspondents in Korea, who are so fertile in reporting the misdeeds of the missionaries, were absolutely silent on the subject of the attack on the Rev. John Thomas of the Oriental Missionary Society, on March 20. . . . Mr. Thomas was, on his release, re-

quested to sign a paper in Japanese, but sensibly refused to do so, as he could not understand its purport. It was evidently for the purpose of exonerating the culprits.

The manner in which this case has been dealt with may be instructively compared with the sort of demands which would be made if such a thing had happened to a Japanese gentleman in China, and the silence of the Japanese press on the subject may be compared with the storm which would have broken had the nationalities been different. Even the *Seoul Press* heard nothing of Mr. Thomas' case.¹

It is Japan's policy to keep Korea completely isolated from the outside world, and the missionaries stand in their way. Although they remain strictly neutral in political matters and are subservient to the Japanese, yet they cannot but observe what is taking place in the peninsula; therefore, their presence is not wanted by the powers that be. "There is little doubt," writes W. W. Willoughby, the eminent American authority on the Far Eastern situation, "that if treaty engagements and other considerations did not prevent, the Japanese would be glad to prohibit Christian missionary work in Korea."²

¹ *Japan Chronicle*, June 5, 1919.

² W. W. Willoughby, "Japan and Korea," *The Unpartizan Review*, January, 1920, pp. 24-42.

XI

THE MOVEMENT TO RESTORE INDEPENDENCE

JAPAN, in a true sense, has never conquered Korea, and the Korean people have never recognized the Japanese as the rightful masters of their land. After entering the country with its military forces at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War on terms definitely guaranteeing the political independence and territorial integrity of Korea, Japan remained, gradually shifting her position, through pressure of this military occupation thus peaceably obtained in the first instance, from that of a friendly neighbour to adviser, from advisership to protectorate and from protectorate to final annexation. Through the most elaborate system of publicity propaganda and diplomatic manoeuvres, Japan created an impression in the West that she was absorbing Korea for the benefit of the Korean people. Simultaneously, military suppression of the most rigid character was employed in Korea to crush the nationalistic movement of the Koreans.

The Korean people did not all submit to Japanese domination so peaceably as the West had supposed. When the Korean army was disbanded in July, 1907, the soldiers of Major Pak's battalion fought and died to the last man against the overwhelming Japanese

forces. "Their gallant defense excited the greatest admiration even among their enemies, and it was notable that for a few days, at least, the Japanese spoke with more respect of Korea and the Korean people than they had ever done before."¹

Thousands of Koreans organized into volunteer bands to fight, without arms, the Japanese army. They were described in the Japanese press dispatches as bandits. But they were no more bandits than were Washington's Continental Army or Garibaldi's Volunteers. In so far as I know, F. A. McKenzie is the only white man who ever visited the fighting districts of the Korean volunteers. After describing the heroism and suffering of the Koreans in a hopeless struggle against some 20,000 regulars of the Japanese army, Mr. McKenzie concludes:

The Koreans continued their fight until 1915, when, according to Japanese official statements, the rebellion was finally suppressed. One can only faintly imagine the hardships these mountaineers and young men of the plains, tiger hunters and old soldiers must have undergone. The taunts about Korean "cowardice" and "apathy" were beginning to lose their force.²

But fighting still goes on in the remote districts of Korea. The clash between 2,000 Koreans and the Japanese army at Eun Chin in February, 1920,³ and the more recent clash between Koreans and the Japa-

¹ F. A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, Chapter XIII.

² F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, p. 170.

³ London Dispatch, February 9, 1920 (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 10, 1920).

nese garrison at Hunchun, Manchuria, with the subsequent dispatching of 5,000 Japanese soldiers to the troubled district in Manchuria, are the signs of it.¹ Only the Japanese Government no longer calls these fighting Koreans bandits. They are called Bolsheviki, knowing that the name Bolsheviki would suggest an odium in America and Western Europe for these Koreans who are fighting to recover their lost country. The truth is that they are neither Bolsheviki nor bandits. They are militant nationalists who prefer death to living under Japanese rule. A large number of these militant nationalists now reside in Manchuria and Siberia ready and willing to make any sacrifice for the emancipation of their nation from alien domination. A recent dispatch from the Far Eastern Correspondent of the *New York Tribune* gives a succinct and clear description of these warring bands of Korean patriots:

In Manchuria and Siberia are nearly a million Koreans who have been forced to leave their native land. It is with these the protagonists of force plan to work. That they are drilling many of these is known, as is the fact that raids have been made by such bands on isolated Japanese posts along the Korean-Siberian border. With money that is contributed voluntarily by Koreans inside and outside Korea, arms are being bought from Siberians and bands fitted out. The hope of the Koreans of this school, a distant hope, they realize, is that some day these bands will be numerous enough, strong enough and well enough trained for an organized effort to drive the Japanese out of Korea.

¹Press Dispatch from Tokyo, October 17, 1920.

It is the existence of such bands that has given rise to reports that the Koreans are allying themselves with the Bolsheviks. This is true only in a certain light. It is true that the Russians are egging on such Koreans, for the Russians have set themselves to oppose and obstruct the Japanese in every possible way. Also, they are looking for a possible partner when they are in a position to challenge the presence of the Japanese in Siberia. Also, it is true that the Koreans are taking what help they can get from the Siberians. This is no way because they subscribe to Bolshevik doctrine. It is because they are dominated by but one aim—to free their country from Japanese rule. To realize that aim they will accept help from any source, whether Red Russia or white America.¹

But the saner element of the Korean people saw from the beginning the hopelessness of their cause on the field of military combat with Japan. Although they agreed with their militant brethren that the Japanese in Korea must be driven out and Korea restored to the Koreans, yet they differed in the methods to be pursued. They believed that the lasting results may be obtained, under the circumstances, from evolutionary rather than revolutionary methods. The Korean people must be thoroughly educated; they must be brought up to the level of material progress on par with the Japanese; and the civilized world in the West must be made familiar with their aspirations, so that they may depend on moral support, at least, of the enlightened West in their final struggle for freedom.

Japanese propagandists in America and Europe attempt to make it appear that the Korean Independence

¹ *New York Tribune*, October 24, 1920.

Movement of 1919 was brought about through the influence of Koreans residing outside of Korea. Nothing could be further from the truth. On the contrary, the Koreans residing outside of Korea have received stimulus and inspiration from the undaunted courage and patriotism of their brethren at home. The Korean Independence Movement of 1919 was born in 1905 when Japan forced her protectorate at the point of the sword. The Korean's love of country has been learned in the losing of it, and the value of liberty in the deprivation of it. The process of denationalization, forced upon Korea by Japan, served as a crucible in which Korean patriotism was crystallized. During the fifteen years of tyrannical domination, Japan, unconsciously, and in spite of herself, gave Korea a new hope, an ideal and a fighting spirit. Now Korea is no longer the Korea of traditional sloth. A fresh impulse has been generated throughout Korea, and the awakening of a vital nationalism has taken place. The people have become conscious of the meaning of their nationhood, and are sacrificing themselves for the realization of it. They have opened their eyes to the world outside their peninsula and are eager to fall in with its step. No longer can the soldier's rifle or the gendarme's sword cow them. This is the spirit of new Korea—the spirit which brought about the Independence Movement of 1919.

The world war had no small influence on the growing nationalism of Korea. The war aims enunciated by statesmen of Allied nations that "no people should be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not

wish to live" strengthened the fighting spirit of the Korean people. When, to the Peace Conference at Versailles, the claims of many of the formerly extinct nations, including Poland, were presented for adjustment, President Wilson, as the champion of the rights of oppressed nationalities, said in an address:

We are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and guide its own destinies, not as we wish, but as it wishes.

If any people in the world were entitled to self-determination, the Koreans were the people. Their ancient civilization, their independent history, their homogeneous population, the illegal occupation of their country by Japanese against their will, and the subsequent tyranny and oppression that would forfeit any country the right to rule another—all pointed to the justice of their claim. Their cause must be presented to the Allied Tribunal of justice. This intention of theirs was precipitated by the action of the Japanese Government in Korea. It is a curious fact that clever people, in their desire to be too clever, often show stupidity, and deceitful folk in their method of deceiving others frequently deceive themselves. Not infrequently the Japanese have shown these traits in their dealings with the Korean people.

In December, 1918, about a month after the Armistice was declared, the Japanese Government in Korea circulated a petition among the Koreans throughout the country. It was a petition to be presented to the Peace Conference to the effect that the Korean people

were sincerely grateful to Japan for her benevolent rule over their country, and the Koreans and the Japanese were fast merging into one people under the most benign of all rulers—the Mikado. Other nationalities might claim the right to self-determination, but that principle should in no wise apply to the Korean people, since it was their explicit wish to be loyal Japanese subjects.

Leading Koreans in every community were compelled to sign this petition by the gendarmes, and they had no alternative. The old Emperor absolutely refused to sign this petition, preferring death to further sealing the fate of his people. It had been the lifelong regret of the Emperor that he did not risk his life in 1905 when the protectorate was forced upon him. Now, he was ready to go the full length towards making reparation and to give the full measure of devotion to his people. "Do your worst," he said to the Japanese, "I am ready for the inevitable." And they did. He was poisoned on January 20, 1919. The Japanese at first attempted to suppress the news, but when they found out that that was impossible, they announced on January 22 that the ex-Emperor's death was due to apoplexy. No Korean or foreign physicians were permitted to examine his body. It was the opinion among foreign physicians in Seoul, who knew something of the physical condition of the ex-ruler, that he was not a fat man and that his blood pressure was never high. Besides, he had never before shown any signs that were conducive to apoplexy. The Japanese officials promptly denied that any petition was presented to

him and that he was poisoned.¹ But, of course, no Korean would ever believe Japanese official statements.

Another story became current at this time. It was to the effect that the Emperor had committed suicide as a protest against the marriage of his son, formerly the heir apparent, to Princess Nashimoto of Japan. The Japanese Government encouraged the inter-marriage between Korean and Japanese to quicken the process of amalgamation and assimilation in Korea. This royal marriage was arranged by the Japanese Government to set a precedent for the people to follow. This was frowned upon both by the ex-Emperor and the Korean people, but they had no choice. As a strange coincidence the death of the ex-Emperor took place on the eve of the royal marriage, which gave the feasible interpretation that he committed suicide as a protest. At any rate the Koreans were convinced that their former ruler did not die a natural death, for he was a virtual prisoner in the hands of the Japanese, and they could do with him as they willed.

The story of the ex-Emperor's death spread like wild-fire among the Koreans. While living, the people had little love for him because of his failure to fight Japan in 1905 when he had a fighting chance. To be sure, his fight would have been a hopeless one and the result a foregone conclusion. But he should have died fighting. The mere fact that he never sanctioned Japan's absorption of his country was not sufficient to

¹ This was rumour at first, but later confirmed by Korean palace attendants, who saw the Japanese committing the deed, and saw the corpse afterwards.

hold the love and confidence of the people. But now he has paid his debt to his fellow-countrymen in full measure. He has proved a martyr, though too late. Besides, the Koreans looked upon him as the embodiment of the Korea of yesterday, when the Kingdom enjoyed an independent entity in the council of nations. In his death the people felt the passing of the old nation with its tender memories and a peculiar sense of pathos. The stupidity of the Japanese Government intensified the Korean's national sentiment in connection with the ex-Emperor's death.

When the Meiji Emperor died in 1912, it was flashed all over Korea, and the Koreans everywhere were compelled to mourn the dead ruler of Japan. But the death of the ex-ruler of Korea was not even announced in official gazettes of the Government. Schools, stores and Government offices were not ordered to close for a day out of respect, as was done in the case of the Meiji Emperor's death in 1912. It was also decided by the Japanese authorities to conduct the funeral according to the Japanese custom within the city, and turn the body over to the Koreans after it had passed outside the city wall. Needless to say, all these things enhanced the Korean sense of national humiliation.

The atmosphere was becoming tense, and the Korean leaders, who had already sent their representatives to Paris to plead the Korean case at the Peace Conference, were ready to take advantage of the situation. Long before this the country had been completely organized in districts, with an executive committee in

each, to carry on the work for independence. Now, this machinery of secret organization was set in motion.

According to the time-honoured custom of the Orient, the Koreans were permitted to gather in cities to mourn their deceased ruler with due ceremony. This, in so far as I know, was the first time since the country was annexed that the Koreans were allowed to gather in large numbers. The Japanese authorities had, hitherto, prohibited the Koreans from congregating or travelling in groups. The people were required to have police passports before they could go from place to place, even in the same province. The Japanese authorities evidently thought that allowing the Koreans to air their grievances in the form of mourning the dead ruler would relieve the bottled-up feeling of national injury. The funeral was set for March 3; the Koreans were given liberty to mourn informally or with due ceremony, individually or in large groups.

Meanwhile, important conferences among the leaders took place. Something must be done on the day of the funeral to reconsecrate their liberty, to revitalize Korean nationality and to let the outside world know the true condition of Korea. What method should they pursue? Two schools were represented in the conference—that of physical force and that of moral courage. The militant element argued that the Koreans have suffered long enough, that they should set a day on which all Korea should rise and kill every Japanese in the land. There was only one Japanese

to every sixty Koreans in the land, and it could be accomplished. Come what may, they would be ready to meet the consequences. But thanks to the influence of Christianity, the Christians, representing the school of moral suasion, opposed this program of wholesale massacres. They reasoned with the militant advocates that such a procedure was not only fundamentally wrong, but the Koreans would pay the heavy penalty and would gain nothing in the end. That would give Japan an ample excuse to bring her entire military and naval forces to massacre the Korean population, and the world would justify her action. The Koreans, on the other hand, had no arms and no place to procure arms. There was not one chance in a thousand by which the Koreans would gain anything by resorting to force. The Christian policy carried the day. It was decided that they should issue the Proclamation of Independence on the day of the ex-Emperor's funeral declaring that Korea was free. The people should have a grand celebration of their freedom—waving Korean flags and shouting *Mansei!* The people should calmly refuse to recognize Japanese authority, but no violence, under any circumstances, should be resorted to.

After this program was agreed upon by all the leaders, instructions were sent to the Provinces to this effect. Thirty-three of the most prominent leaders of the people were chosen to sign the Proclamation as the representatives of the people. Of this group, there were, according to religious classification, fifteen Christians, fifteen Chuntokyo followers and three Bud-

dhists. Chuntokyo was founded right after the protectorate was established by Son Byung-hi as a politico-religious organization. The literal translation of the name is the Religion of the Heavenly Way. It recognizes the existence of the one Supreme Mind, Hananim, which the Korean people have always recognized. In it are embodied the principles of Christian fellowship, Confucian dignity and Buddhist philosophy. The Japanese Government encouraged the propagation of this cult as a counter-active to Christianity, until its membership at the beginning of the Independence Movement of 1919 reached a million and a half. Its leader, Son Byung-hi, is an interesting character. His youth was spent in the study of Confucian classics and Buddhist philosophy. He then went to Japan and spent many years in the study of material civilization imported from the West. Later, he was absorbed in the contemplation of the principles as found in the Bible. When he found that his activities among his people would be limited by the Japanese in Korea unless he sided with them, he created an impression that he was pro-Korean without being anti-Japanese. The Japanese thought they had found a powerful ally in Son to fight Christianity in Korea. But when the hour struck Son proved to be an entirely different man. He was a man of action and of practical ideas as well as an idealist and a dreamer. He was not only the spiritual guide, but also the political leader of his followers. He now headed the list of the thirty-three immortals of Korea.

Two other men of equal eminence were Pastor Kil



LEE DONG WHEE.



AHN CHANG HO.

TWO PROMINENT LEADERS IN THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

and Yi Sang-jai. Pastor Kil for many years has been the pastor of the largest church in Korea. His name is a household word among Korean Christians, and his moral leadership was recognized by Christians and non-Christians alike. Yi Sang-jai, once Secretary to the Korean Legation at Washington, was now a Y. M. C. A. leader, but he was held in universal esteem, not only by Koreans, but also by Westerners in Korea.

As the plans were being completed, the Japanese officials evidently had an inkling that something was brewing, although they did not know what it was. Orders were issued to the police all over the country to take due precaution for what contingencies that might occur on March 3. The Korean leaders promptly changed the date of their independence demonstrations from March 3 to March 1, thus getting ahead of the police.

When the day arrived, plans were completed, organization perfected, and the stage set for the demonstration of what Valentine McClatchy, the Publisher of the *Sacramento Bee*, who was in Korea during the first week of March, calls "The Greatest Example in World History of an Organized Passive Resistance for an Ideal." On Saturday, March 1, at two o'clock p. m., the Independence Proclamation was read to expectant crowds gathered in every city in Korea, with cheers of *Mansei, Mansei, Mansei!*

The Independence Proclamation follows:

THE PROCLAMATION OF KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and

the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations, and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right.

We make this proclamation, having back of us a history of forty-three centuries and 20,000,000 united, loyal people. We take this step to insure to our children for all time to come, life and liberty in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God, the moving principle of the present age, the just claim of the whole human race. It is something that cannot be stamped out, or stifled, or gagged, or suppressed by any means.

Victims of an older age, when brute force and the spirit of plunder ruled, we have come after these long thousands of years to experience the agony of ten years of foreign oppression, with every loss to the right to live, every restriction of the freedom of thought, every damage done to the dignity of life, every opportunity lost for a share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

Assuredly, if the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the wrongs of the present are to be righted, if future oppression is to be avoided, if thought is to be set free, if right of action is to be given a place, if we are to attain to any way of progress, if we are to deliver our children from the painful heritage of shame, if we are to leave blessing and happiness intact for those who succeed us, the first of all necessary things is the complete independence of our people. What cannot our twenty millions do, with hearts consecrated to liberty, in this day when human nature and conscience are making a stand for truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?

We have no desire to accuse Japan of breaking many solemn treaties since 1876, nor to single out specially the teachers in the schools or the Government officials who treat the heritage of our ancestors as a colony of their

own, and our people and our civilization as a nation of savages, and who delight only in beating us down and bringing us under their heel.

We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt for our civilization and the principles on which her state rests; we, who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend time in finding fault with others; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over what is past and gone. Our urgent need to-day is the rebuilding of this house of ours and not the discussion of who has broken it down, or what has caused its ruin. Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.

Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force which thinks to run counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change and act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth.

The result of annexation, brought about against the will of the Korean people, is that the Japanese are concerned only for their own gain, and by a false set of figures show a profit and loss account between us two peoples most untrue, digging a trench of everlasting resentment deeper and deeper the farther they go.

Ought not the way of enlightened courage to be to correct the evils of the past by ways that are sincere, and by true sympathy and friendly feeling make a new world in which the two peoples will be equally blessed?

To bind by force twenty millions of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the ever-growing suspicions of four hundred millions of Chinese—upon whom depends the safety of the Far East—besides

strengthening the hatred of Japan. From this all the rest of the East will suffer. To-day Korean independence will mean not only life and happiness for us, but also Japan's departure from an evil path and her exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China too would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind.

A new era awakes before our eyes, the old world of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arises this light on the affairs of life. Insects stifled by their foe, the snows of winter, are also awakened at this time of the year by the breezes of spring and the warm light of the sun upon them.

It is the day of the restoration of all things, on the full tide of which we set forth without delay or fear. We desire a full measure of satisfaction in the way of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and an opportunity to develop what is in us for the glory of our people. In this hope we go forward.

WE PLEDGE THREE ITEMS OF AGREEMENT

1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, justice, and life, undertaken at the request of our people, in order to make known their desire for liberty. Let no violence be done to any one.
2. Let those who follow us show every hour with gladness this same spirit.
3. Let all things be done with singleness of purpose, so that our behaviour to the very end may be honourable and upright.

The 4252d year of the Kingdom of Korea, 3d Month, 1st day.

Representatives of the people.

The signatures attached to the document are:

Son Byung Hi, Kil Sun Chu, Yi Pil Chu, Paik Long Sung, Kim Won Kyu, Kim Pyung Cho, Kim Chang Choon, Kwon Dong Chin, Kwon Byung Duk, Na Yong Whan, Na In Hup, Yang Chun Paik, Yang Han Mook, Lew Yer Dai, Yi Kop Sung, Yi Mung Yong, Yi Seung Hoon, Yi Chong Hoon, Yi Chong Il, Lim Yei Whan, Pak Choon Seung, Pak Hi Do, Pak Tong Wan, Sin Hong Sik, Sin Suk Ku, Oh Sei Chang, Oh Wha Young, Chung Choon Su, Choi Sung Mo, Choi In, Han Yong Woon, Hong Byung Ki, Hong Ki Cho.

XII

THE MOVEMENT TO RESTORE INDEPENDENCE (*Continued*)

"IN our opinion this Proclamation will stand on a plane of exaltation with our own Declaration of Independence," said the *Los Angeles Times* commenting editorially on the Korean Independence Proclamation. "Let us listen to the voice of Son Byung-hi. It is the voice of a prophet crying in the wilderness. . . . May God grant a mad world the grace to stop and listen to that voice."¹ "The whole plan had a loftiness and sober dignity of thought and speech, in which some fine old strain of Confucianism mingled with rich and fervent Biblical phraseology," said Sidney Greenbie in a magazine article on the Korean Independence Movement. "It was one of the most remarkable revolutions in history—and one which might well put any Christian nation to shame. The instructions issued should be immortal in the annals of revolt."²

The conduct of the thirty-three signers of the Proclamation was truly worthy of these commendations. Two of their members were sent to Shanghai the day before the Proclamation was issued to carry the news

¹ Editorial, "The Dignity of Life," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1919.

² Sidney Greenbie, "Korea Asserts Herself," *Asia*, September, 1919, pp. 921-926.

to the outside world. Pastor Kil was late in arriving from Pyeng Yang. The remaining thirty met in the Bright Moon, the most famous café in Korea, to dine together for the last time. It was one of the most significant and romantic banquets in history. Every one of them present knew what was before him. The die was cast, and the hour was approaching. Many of them were victims at the Conspiracy Trial of 1912-13. Well they remember that Pastor Kil's son and a number of others died from the effects of Japanese torture. They knew that at the best they must undergo unspeakable torture and flogging, and at the worst they would be put to death. They had no delusions. They were more than calm and collected; they were happy and cheerful to face the approaching fate.

After drinking a toast to the liberty and independence of the Korean people, the Declaration of Independence was read and *Mansei* cheers were given. A copy of the Declaration was sent to the Governor-General with the compliments of the signers. Then they called up the Central Police Station, informing the shocked officials of what they had done and added that they were waiting for the arrest. The police automobile rushed to the café and carried them to the police station. On their way they were cheered by the surging crowd throbbing with new impulse. Old Korean flags were seen everywhere. The nation was resurrected! When Pastor Kil arrived, having been temporarily delayed on his journey from Pyeng Yang, he went to the police station and asked to be arrested, that he might take his place with his comrades.

It was not long before the Independence Demonstration took place in every town and village in Korea. To all foreigners the movement came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. The missionaries, who had hereto enjoyed the confidence of the Korean Christians, were purposely kept in total darkness of the plans in order to free them from any possible complication with the Japanese Government. The Government officials, who were cock-sure that they had the stranglehold on the Korean people, and that the Koreans were utterly incapable of organizing any movement on a large scale, were completely taken by surprise. They were nonplussed and knew of no other method to pursue to suppress the movement except that of force. The methods of suppression will be described in the next chapter. Here we are concerned only with the extent of the movement.

One peculiar feature of Japanese rule in Korea, which is found in no other country in the world, is its spy system. It is incredible from a Westerner's point of view. It is true, none the less. In Korea every one must be registered and is given a number, which is known to the police. Every time he leaves his village or town he must register at the police station and state fully the business he intends to transact and his destination. The policeman telephones to this place, and if the registrant's actions are in any way at variance with his report, he is liable to arrest and mistreatment. A strict classification is kept on the basis of a man's education, influence, position, etc. As soon as a man begins to show ability or qualities of leadership, he is put

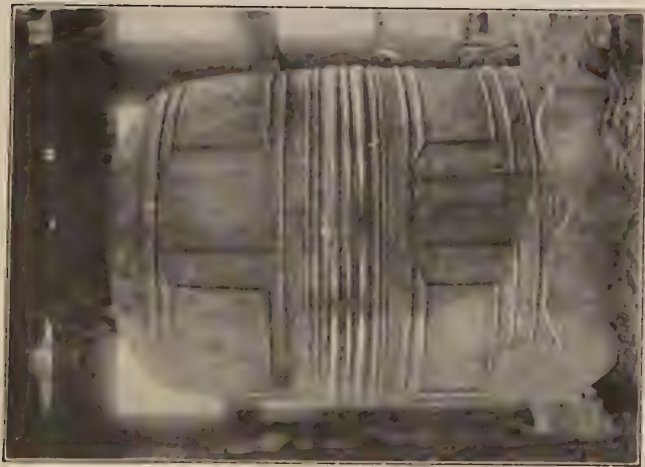
in class "a," detectives are set on his trail, and from thenceforth he becomes a marked man hounded wherever he goes. Even children are watched or bribed for information. If a man escapes the country, his number is traced, his family or relatives are arrested and perchance tortured until they reveal his whereabouts. A man is likely to disappear any day and perhaps not be heard of again. Officially authorized spies are stationed in every town and village; they force their presence even into private household parties. Their acts are backed by the Japanese gendarmerie, and woe to the native who dares to resent their intrusion! He will be charged with treason as opposing the Government authorities! The Japanese enlist as sub-spies a large number of the worst scoundrels in the country. These incorrigibles are paid good salaries, and in many cases given rewards for the merit of their work; not infrequently the well-to-do natives are blackmailed by these spies, and the Government winks at the crime.

Such abuse of the method might naturally be expected, but the worst feature of it all is that it is often used as a machine by the Government in relentlessly crushing out the spirit of nationalism. If a Korean is suspected of keeping alive the spirit of his forefathers, the Government instructs its spies to bring certain charges against him. Upon the testimony of the spies, he will be imprisoned, his property will be confiscated, and he will be punished in such a way as to be disabled for life; or he may even be executed on the charge of treason. Like the mediæval "Ironwoman" that crushed its victim without bloodshed, this spy system

of the Japanese administration in Korea removes from the country the ablest and best educated Koreans without technically violating the regulations of the colonial policy of the Japanese Empire.¹ Indeed, Baron Saito, the new Governor-General, admitted the cynical truth when he said recently to an *Asahi* representative that all the Koreans of sufficient intelligence or force of character to lead their countrymen to higher things are either in prison or in exile. "In that one sentence," commented the *Japan Chronicle*, "is a more damning indictment than in all that has been written during the past year."

In a country honeycombed with Government spies and surrounded by a cordon of soldiers, police and gendarmes, the Koreans organized the nation-wide revolution and completely outwitted the Japanese, keeping them in total ignorance until the last minute. This illustrates not only the unity of the people in the movement, but also the capacity of the leaders to organize and the willingness of the people to follow the lead along the right direction. Writing in the *New York Times*, the Rev. A. E. Armstrong, the Assistant Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, who was in Korea until March 17th, said: "Foreigners marvel at the ability and thoroughness with which the Koreans organized and are carrying on the campaign. Even the oldest British and American citizens had no idea that

¹ For fuller discussion of the Japanese espionage in Korea, see the present writer's *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, Part II.



The Great Bell at Moscow, built in 1492.
This Bell of the Sila Dynasty is the same size as the
Great Bell at Moscow, but was Cast Eleven Cen-
turies before It.



A Famous Reproduction of the *Intelligence*
Newspaper Contributed to the *Intelligence*

the Koreans were capable of planning and conducting such a widespread rebellion.”¹

Demonstrations consisted of reading the Independence Proclamation, one or two short addresses by leaders, then waving Korean flags and shouting *Mansei*. It was held in front of every one of the foreign consulates in Seoul. The whole country was mapped out in districts with leaders in each to hold these demonstrations. In a city like Seoul or Pyeng Yang, several demonstrations were held in different sections of the city at the same time. The old Liberty Bell in Chongno broke its long silence, the Korean flag above the Independence Arch outside of Seoul was painted afresh, and the historic watchfire from the top of Namsan in Seoul and Moranbong in Pyeng Yang once again signalled freedom.

It was soon seen that all classes of people were involved in the movement. Shopkeepers closed their stores, and policemen, who had worked under the Japanese, took off their uniforms and joined the demonstrations. The students from both Government and private schools absented themselves with the result that the schools had to be closed. Farmers in the country gathered in their respective districts to celebrate, and threatened that they would not plant their crops if independence was not granted.

The Korean employees on the state-owned railroads and the street railway employees have come out on sympathetic strikes. And a careful examination of the injured in the hospitals shows that the coolie class also has

¹New York Times, April 23, 1919.

furnished a proportionate quota of the people who are engaged in the uprising.

If further evidence is wanted it would seem to be supplied by the fact that the very prisoners in the penitentiary heard of the movement, made Korean flags, and held a demonstration until it was put down by force.¹

The literati, the most conservative element of the Korean population, also joined the demonstrators. A group of them sent a petition to the Governor-General, demanding the withdrawal of Japanese soldiers from Korea and the restoration of Korean independence. Needless to say, they were promptly arrested.

The extent of the movement and how it permeated through all classes and strata of society can easily be realized when it is noted that men ennobled by the Japanese and considered true friends of Japan repudiated their titles and stood by the demonstrators. Two of the most famous of these nobles were Viscounts Kim Yun-sik and Yi Yong-chik. Viscount Kim was senior peer, head of the Confucian College, and had been active in Korean affairs for nearly three-quarters of a century. He was now eighty-five, feeble and bed-ridden. He and his colleague, Viscount Yi, sent a dignified petition to the Governor-General asking him to deal with the situation in a sympathetic way and to stop the atrocities on the defenseless. There was nothing in the petition to which the Governor-General should have taken offense.²

¹ From an unpublished manuscript of an American missionary in Korea.

² See full text of petition, Appendix VI.

The two nobles were at once arrested, and with them various male members of their families. Kim was so ill that he could not be immediately moved, and a guard was placed over his house. In the trial, held at Seoul in July, Viscount Kim was sentenced to two years of penal servitude, and Viscount Yi to eighteen months.

The movement was kept up despite military suppression. The Koreans were unflinchingly determined to continue their work for freedom till the end. In order to do so, they saw the necessity for creating organic machinery to carry on the function. On April 23, 1919, at a time when the persecution was at its height, delegates from each of the thirteen provinces of Korea met in Seoul, framed a constitution creating a Republic and elected the first Ministry.

The Constitution, in general, outlined the representative form of Government, guaranteeing to citizens such rights as freedom of speech, liberty of worship, right of petition, equality before the law, etc. The Ministry was composed of the President, the Premier and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior, War, Finance, Justice, Education, Communication, Labour, and the Chief of Staff. The personnel of the Ministry was most significant. Every one of the men elected had been in public affairs in Korea in the past. The President of the Provisional Government of the newly created Republic, Dr. Syngman Rhee, may be taken as an illustration.

Like Thomas Masaryk of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, Dr. Rhee is a scholar as well as a statesman.

He took an active part in the reform movement of 1894, suffering long imprisonment as the result. After release, he came to America, graduated from Harvard, and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Princeton under Woodrow Wilson. In 1910 John R. Mott sent him out to Korea to represent the International Y. M. C. A., but he had to abandon his work on account of Japanese obstruction. He went to Hawaii, started a magazine, *The Korcan Pacific Magazine*, and conducted a Korean school. When the delegates from the thirteen provinces met in Seoul, in April, 1919, Dr. Rhee was unanimously elected as the President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. He has many books to his credit, and his name is a household word among Koreans everywhere.

Many spokesmen for Japan take delight in ridiculing the Provisional Republic of Korea as being a "paper Republic" on the ground that the seat, and most of the officials, of the Government are outside of Korea, and none of the Powers have, as yet, recognized the newly organized Government. They seem to forget that the Continental Congress was not recognized in 1776 by any of the Powers, and that the Belgian Government was not in Belgium during the World War. When the United States Government recognized the belligerency of Czecho-Slovakia, September 3, 1918, not a single member of the National Council of Czecho-Slovakia was in his own country. Mr. Masaryk was in Washington, Mr. Stefanik was in Vladivostok, Mr. Benes was in Paris, other members



DR. SYNGMAN RHEE

In April, 1919, delegates from the thirteen provinces met in Seoul and unanimously elected him President of the Republic of Korea.

were in London or Rome, and the National Council did not have the physical possession of a single foot of territory in the country itself. The people, however, had organized and had elected the members of this National Council to act as their Provisional Government. The United States, being convinced of this fact, recognized the status of the Czecho-Slovakian Government.

To the Korean people, this new Government of theirs is *de facto* and *de jure*. They are willing to fight for it and to die for it. As a Korean clergyman expressed it, "We will do our duty and leave the rest to God." No sacrifice is too great or hardship too severe for them to endure in their fight for liberty. When all the people of a nation believe in the ideal of liberty, it is not an easy task to suppress, even for those who are more experienced and less near-sighted than the Japanese. Wholesale massacres and burning of towns described in the following chapters only illustrate the incompetency of Japan to handle the situation. If there ever were a nation that was incapable of ruling others, it is Japan. Her record in Korea is incontestable testimony that she possesses none of the qualities of a ruling nation. Bewildered at the courage, ability and patriotism of the Koreans, and utterly incompetent to face the situation created largely through her own greed and treachery, Japan sits upon the safety valve while the boilers beneath her crack from expansive pressure.

XIII

JAPAN AMUCK

THE Independence Demonstration, which began on March 1, 1919, was a passive one in the literal sense of the word. It was "a great orderly demonstration by the people simultaneously all over the Empire, of their desire for freedom. There were no attacks on Japanese property or persons—simply a cessation of labour, and a gathering of the people for orderly demonstration under the catchword, *Mansei*. The Koreans, *en masse*, did not even try to retaliate when the Japanese attacked them. They used neither clubs nor weapons of any sort. And it was against people like these—against pathetic dignity and high-mindedness in revolt that the Japanese retaliated with atrocities that rival those in Belgium and Armenia."¹

The Independence News, the official organ of the Independence Movement, continually instructed the people not to use violence under any circumstances—not even in self-defense. This newspaper, which appeared every day during March, April, May, and still appears periodically, was a Korean counterpart of *La Libre Belgique* in the romantic and daring accompani-

¹ *Asia*, September, 1919, p. 925.

ments of its production. The ingenuity of the Korean in editing this mimeographed sheet would furnish abundant material for a highly interesting detective story. The staff was organized in such a way that the minute one member was arrested or disabled physically by the soldiers, another member would step into his place. It was published in caves, in fishermen's junks, in an artificially made grave at the churchyard. Its distribution was so arranged that it was scattered all over the country, not only among the Koreans, but also among the Westerners and the Japanese; the Governor-General found two copies on his desk every morning. The Japanese were completely baffled.

Police sergeants in the corner sentry boxes found copies on their benches, prison guards found them distributed in the cells. Hundreds have been caught in distributing the paper and far more arrested on suspicion in connection with its publication, but if among these have been the editors, that has not prevented its continued appearances. No sooner is one group satisfactorily found guilty of responsibility for it than it again appears on the table of the procurator who conducted the prosecution.¹

The outwitting of the Japanese soldiers and police by the Koreans only aggravated them to further atrocities. The first plan of the Japanese was to attack every gathering of people and disperse it, and to arrest every person who took part in the demonstrations or was supposed to have a hand in them. But it was not

¹ "Korea's Rebellion, the Part Played by Christians," *Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1920, pp. 513-530.

very long before all the jails in the country were full, police stations were crowded, and every available place in which to huddle the arrested was occupied. Soldiers, police and gendarmes were instructed to fire into crowds of demonstrators and to use their swords freely. Whenever there was a crowd gathered, the soldiers would charge them with fixed bayonets, cutting and jabbing the unarmed and defenseless men, women and children, who only waved their flags and cried *Mansei*.

The first line was cut down and ridden down by mounted men, the second came on shouting, *Mansei*. Every man and woman in that line knew what was before him, every man and woman had seen the penalty paid; it meant brutal beatings, arrest, torture and even death. They did not quiver. When one procession was broken up, another formed and marched straight at the waiting troops. Only cheering, waving their flags and cheering. We have all heard, we Westerners, that in the Eastern peoples there is no physical courage. Yet I can think of no finer courage, even heroism, than that of these people who, without resisting, without means of resistance, knowing the horrible fate that was before them, went on to it without flinching, without fear or regret.¹

There were not enough soldiers and gendarmes and police to disperse the demonstrations simultaneously going on all over Korea. Japanese civilians were given *carte blanche* to assist their officers in the reign of terror. Firemen were sent out with poles with the big firemen's hooks at the end. A single pull with one

¹ Nathaniel Peffer, *The Truth About Korea*, p. 23.



Japanese Soldiers Guarding the Streets of Seoul to Shoot Down Any One Who Dare Cry "Long Live Korea."



NOT A GARDEN WALL BUT KOREAN SHOPS WITH SHUTTERS UP

During the Independence Demonstrations the Korean Merchants went on a Shopkeepers' Strike to Show Their Sympathy with the National Movement.

of these hooks meant death or horrible mutilation for any person it happened to strike.

In describing the deeds of these deputized firemen, an American witness writes:

Two girls were dragged by the hair from a house near the mission hospital, tied to a telegraph post by their hair, horribly beaten by deputized firemen and then led off to jail. While the crowd were parading the streets the police and soldiers ran their weapons deliberately into unresisting bystanders because they happened to be in their way. In front of the prefect's office one defenseless Korean was run down and killed by two firemen armed with pikes. The corpse was dragged along the ground and away by the slayers. Old men, women and children have been indiscriminately abused, beaten, cut down with swords, struck by firemen armed with pikes, pierced by bayonets, and never a man has resisted the military. The passive revolt has been true to its name here. Because we foreigners have seen all, we are not only *persona non grata* to the Japanese, but in real danger of our lives. It is reported that hired thugs are wandering about the city at night to waylay whom they may. It is becoming increasingly questionable whether we foreigners can remain here during the continuance of the trouble.¹

Not only the soldiers, the police, the gendarmes and the deputized firemen, but Japanese civilians did their full share of the work of human butchery. Whenever there were any signs of demonstration, the Japanese civilians, without being requested, rushed out dropping whatever they were doing to lend aid to their soldiers and police. They seemed to take delight in doing it. An English resident in Seoul wrote at the time: "Ad-

¹ Philadelphia *Evening Ledger*, April 16, 1919.

ditional provocation is furnished both in Seoul and elsewhere by Japanese civilians who arm themselves with clubs and iron hooks and charge down upon the demonstrators. Their work is voluntary, and it looks as though a race war threatens.”¹

This is the part which is hard for the Koreans to forgive the Japanese, no matter what atonement Japan may make. When there is a possibility of mob violence in a community, it is the duty of every good citizen to assist the minions of law to preserve law and order. But in this case there was no occasion for Japanese civilians to volunteer their services in committing unspeakable outrages. Photographs of the victims of Japanese brutality, taken by American physicians at the Severance Hospital, are so gruesome and horrible that they do not bear publication. The dastardly deeds of Japanese in suppressing the demonstrations are set forth in the findings of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, *The Korean Situation, Authentic Accounts of Recent Events by Eye Witnesses*. I take the following Exhibit from the report as an illustration.

DEATH OF A KOREAN YOUNG MAN BY NAME OF
KOO NAK SOH

On March 27, at about 9 P. M., a large body of young men gathered at Andong, Seoul, and shouted *Mansei*. The shouting had continued for a few minutes when a large force of police, gendarmes and soldiers arrived and dispersed them. The above-named young man, like the others, was peacefully going home and alone, was walking

¹ Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, May 31, 1919.

along a small street when suddenly some one pushed him violently in the back, causing him to stumble and fall. His assailant was a policeman, who had seen him in the crowd and followed him to the place where he thought fit to make the attack. After throwing him to the ground the policeman drew his sword and literally hacked at him "like a woodsman would attack a rough old oak." His skull was cut right through so that the brain was visible. This had been accomplished by at least three sword cuts falling in or near the same place. His hands were terribly cut; his left wrist was also cut through to the bone. Those who saw the corpse stated that there were twenty sword cuts, but the photograph reveals only ten.

After this brutal attack on this unarmed and defenseless young man the officer ran away, leaving him in his terrible agony to expire in a few minutes. Some Koreans, happening to pass by, carried him to the nearest native hospital (Kuck Chai Hospital), but little could be done, so they placed him on a stretcher and started out for the Severance Union Medical College, still thinking that his life might be saved. While hurrying to the Severance Hospital they were stopped by a policeman from the Honmachi police station, who spoke to them in a threatening way and did all he could to prevent the case being taken to a foreign hospital. They remonstrated, saying that the case was so serious that a delay in taking the man to the Japanese hospital, which was some distance away, would surely result fatally. The Japanese are naturally anxious that such cases should not be seen by foreigners. On arriving at the Severance Hospital, medical examination revealed the fact that the man was already dead. It is impossible to say just when he died. His dead body presented the most pitiful appearance. Numbers of sword cuts had mutilated his head and hands. His clothing was saturated with blood—indeed, a sight never to be forgotten.

During the following day his little cousin, a mission-school girl, stood watch over his body in the morgue; nothing would persuade her to leave the remains of the one she loved. Another life has been sacrificed for the cause of Korean liberty. "We hope that the great God who sees our pitiful state will come ere long and judge in righteousness and justice."

(NOTE.—The deaths so far are estimated at about 1,000, while those in prison number about 6,000. The people have not one rifle or sword among them. They lift up their empty hands and call upon God and all those who knowing Him love righteousness and justice.)

The Rev. Edward W. Thwing, formerly of Boston, the Secretary of the International Reform Bureau at Peking, China, was in Pyeng Yang, Korea, during March. After his return to Peking, he issued a signed statement which follows:

Peking, China, April 3, 1919.

In a remarkable manner, the Korean Independence Movement has manifested skill, courage and organization that has been a great surprise to many. It has shown, more than ever before, how unreasonable, without justice, cruel and brutal the military rule of Japan is in this land. I could hardly believe these things if I had not seen them with my own eyes.

The police and soldiers have arrested old men and little children and cruelly beaten them. Little girls of only ten years of age, women and schoolgirls have been shamefully treated and subjected to physical punishment and torture for no other crime than shouting with peaceful enthusiasm for their own country and crying out for the independence which Japan had guaranteed by solemn treaties.

These things have been witnessed not by one or two,

but by scores of missionaries and others in many parts of Korea during March. If the world could only know these things it would certainly heed this cry of distress from an oppressed people. But the Japanese are doing all they can to keep the world from knowing the truth. A report has just come that in one city, from which letters have been sent, they are making it very hard for the missionaries, even hinting at deportation, unless they stop telling out the truth.

The following are some of the things that I have actually seen with my own eyes.

Small schoolboys knocked down and cruelly beaten by Japanese soldiers. This was not a question of arresting them, but savage, unjustifiable barbarism.

Soldiers stop and deliberately fire into a crowd composed only of girls and women, who were simply shouting *Mansei*.

A small boy of ten years shot through the back.

An unresisting old man of sixty-five years, pounded, kicked and beaten by several Japanese soldiers until he could not walk.

A crowd of about twenty schoolgirls, who were quietly walking along the public road, not even shouting, chased by soldiers, beaten with guns, knocked down, and so shamefully treated that it made one's blood boil.

Japanese firemen, chasing boys and girls, with long iron hooks trying to catch them with them.

A Korean in a hospital, paralyzed, with his head crushed in with one of these hooks.

A man dying, shot through the back.

One hundred men with torn and bloody clothes, tied together with ropes, taken to jail.

Two Koreans so injured that they could not walk, tied down on a springless cart and brought to jail.

Men standing by, having no connection with the demonstration, and yet knocked about, and attacked by soldiers,

who will attack any one, without regard to what they are doing.

An American missionary roughly arrested, while standing in his own yard, and looking on, but doing nothing else.

Women knocked down with guns, and kicked into the ditch.

These and many other things I have seen with my own eyes. Other foreigners have seen the same and worse. One can little imagine the reign of terror in all parts of this land, at the very time when the Japanese peace delegates are talking of "humanity and justice and equality of races." They don't know the meaning of these words. And the punishments and tortures at the police stations and jails make a still more awful story. I have seen men who were beaten on wooden crosses by the Japanese.

And why is all this cruel punishment given? Not for rioting, or for resisting arrest. I have not seen one case of this; not for carrying dangerous weapons; they have none; but just for shouting out the desire of their hearts for the independence of their country.¹

These fiendish methods of suppression did not weaken the Independence Movement. On the contrary, the movement was kept up with increasing strength. The persecution, in fact, did not keep pace with the rising spirit of liberty. In April the Governor-General passed an *ex post facto* law to punish those leaders arrested in March. They were not dealt with so summarily, as in the case of ordinary demonstrators, because of their wide acquaintance among foreign communities in Korea. Meanwhile, the Japa-

¹ Associated Press Correspondence by mail (Philadelphia *Inquirer*, May 25, 1919).

nese Government sent over 6,000 soldiers and 400 gendarmes to carry on systematic suppression of the Independence Movement.

The Koreans still maintained their passive resistance. "Do not hit the Japanese, not even in retaliation," *The Independence News* advised the people. I have talked with scores of American and British witnesses about Japanese atrocities in Korea, and all were unanimous in stating that the Koreans were absolutely non-resisting. There was one exception; that was the following incident related to me by an American missionary.

On the fourth day of the demonstration, a Korean student in Union Christian College, in Seoul, saw a Japanese civilian dragging a Korean girl by the hair through the street and beating her. Evidently, she was from a Christian family and was out on the street shouting, *Mansei*. Despite the strict instructions of the leaders—that the Koreans should refrain from violence of any kind—the sight of this outrage was more than the young man could stand. It was bad enough for the soldiers and gendarmes to commit outrages, but when a civilian was beating an innocent girl, the instructions of the leaders could be ignored. The Korean student seized the Japanese, trampled on him, and gave him a sound thrashing. By this time gendarmes came along, cut off both arms of this young man for beating the Japanese and dragged him off to prison. This American missionary saw the father of the young man the next day and consoled him, whereupon the aged man replied with tears, "I have no regrets for his

losing both arms—not even if he does lose his life for such a noble and manly act.”

No Korean escaped the brunt of Japanese atrocity. From the learned scholar to the ignorant coolie, from the city merchant to the country farmer, from school children of eight and nine to men past threescore and ten, the bludgeon of the Japanese beat upon all alike. But the most abhorrent feature of the brutality was the treatment of women and schoolgirls. The world will never know all the suffering and heroism of the Korean women under Japanese domination. What has been observed by foreigners in Korea is only a small part of the maltreatment that has been going on everywhere in the peninsula. Mrs. Robertson Scott of England, who was in Korea while the Independence Demonstrations were going on, writes:

They have need of all their marvellous physical, moral and spiritual courage in the fight they have begun. No physical humiliation or personal indignity has been spared the Korean girl patriots at the hands of a police largely recruited from the lowest class in Japan. A young girl—and fourteen seems the age of courage—speaking of a group of fellow-students, who had just emerged from several days' detention in the Seoul police station, said, “They did not look like persons.”

The best spirit of modern Korea is to be found in the beautiful words of a Korean peasant woman to a tyrannical Japanese official. “I am sorry for you Japanese. You do not know how you must suffer before you come to that place of wide and glad prosperity.” . . . One of the head Japanese teachers addressed a large class of Korean girls at the time of the uprising. He said: “We have trained you in this institution for several years, and

I hope you will marry Japanese husbands." "We all will," they replied laughing, and the next day all of these girls were out on the street shouting, *Mansei*.¹

William R. Giles, the Far Eastern correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, visited Korea shortly after the uprising. In a signed dispatch to his paper, Mr. Giles described the "horrible conditions that made the blood boil. I have seen and photographed those who came out of prison after they had received the regulation ninety blows. Among those whom I visited a few hours after their release were men of the highest education and of good families. Old men from seventy to eighty years of age were flogged until they were a mass of bleeding sores, from which many of them never recovered. Unless properly attended by a physician, gangrene sets in, and then the case becomes hopeless. Others are so nerve-wracked they will never again regain their normal strength. Every attempt is made to prevent the marks showing when the men are released, and at the same time everything that science can bring to bear to cause more suffering, is utilized."

Horrible as is the punishment inflicted upon men, yet more horrible and revolting to the extreme is the treatment of women, Mr. Giles found. He continues:

In spite of all the brutality and suffering they have to put up with, they are still strong in the belief that an end will come to their suffering; that they will gain the sympathy of the world and eventually a better form of Government. I could tell many stories of how they are

¹ "Warring Mentalities in the Far East," *Asia*, August, 1920, pp. 693-701.

treated in the prisons, but the following instance of what happened to an innocent eighteen-year-old girl, from whom I obtained the story direct, will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of how women are treated by the Japanese military authorities.

The girl told me that she arrived in Pyeng Yang at the end of April, having been telegraphed for by her father to come home. As soon as the train stopped the Japanese police seized her and took her to the police office. There they told her she had been shouting for the independence of Korea, that she had led an evil life—a favourite accusation of the Japanese police—and had said things against Japanese rule. The girl said she was innocent of all wrong. The police then beat her on the head. This being unsuccessful they placed pieces of wood between her fingers, held the latter tight and began to twist the sticks until she fainted. When she came to they ordered her to make a confession, but having nothing to confess, she was unable to comply with their demand. They then stripped her naked and beat her very severely. Then they placed a heavy weight on her head and made her stand naked for three hours. She again fainted and the treatment caused her to vomit blood. She had to undergo the same treatment seven times in fourteen days. Eventually, she became so ill that the police were compelled to call in the Japanese doctor, who gave her some medicine. The doctor told the police officials that the girl was very ill, and that she had to be sent either home or to a hospital. The police then released her. When I saw the girl she was absolutely broken in health.¹

All during the period of the reign of terror, the Japanese newspapers in Korea coöperated with the Imperial Government in conducting editorial atrocities against the Koreans. Not only did they justify the

¹ *Chicago Daily News*, October 13, 1919.

action of their Government and nationals in their method of suppressing the passive revolution, but they continually vilified the Korean people. Not even those dailies which were considered very liberal in their views ever advanced a single disapproval of the atrocities. On the contrary, they were unanimous in urging the authorities to adopt harsher measures and advising their nationals to coöperate with the officials against the Koreans. A British resident of Seoul, in a communication published in *The Japan Advertiser*, sums up his observations as follows:

1. That some remedy other than repression by brute force must be resorted to, for German methods are out of date.

2. That the studious misrepresentation of the Koreans as a degraded and decadent people must cease. Given equal facilities they are able to produce an administrative class equal to that among the Japanese.

3. That the widespread conviction that American influence is at the back of this Korean agitation must be counteracted, for there is no ground for it. Have you heard that already three British subjects have been wrongfully imprisoned and one of them was severely belaboured by a Japanese mob of civilians and gendarmes *under the impression he was an American?* And this kind of thing is bound to increase while the local Japanese press continue to insert abusive articles regarding foreigners.

The foreign community in Korea maintain a neutral position, but they observe the facts, and one cannot but protest against the cruelties practised towards defenseless people in this unhappy peninsula.¹

¹Quoted in *The Literary Digest*, May 31, 1919.

It is impossible to give an exhaustive description of the various methods employed by the Japanese in their attempt to crush the Korean Independence Movement. From the evidence cited in this chapter the reader must infer the rest. The following extracts, taken from a lengthy article published in the *Toronto Globe*, Toronto, Canada, July 12, 1919, by the Rev. A. E. Armstrong, the Assistant Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, will conclude this chapter. The Rev. Mr. Armstrong was in Korea in March, 1919, and saw some of the conditions. He reports that the Japanese were not satisfied with persecuting the Korean in Korea alone, so they extended their fiendish work to Korean settlements in far-off Manchuria.

* * * * *

Some deeds here are too terrible to write about. At one place fifty-four unarmed Koreans were killed by the Japanese and piled in a heap to be buried next morning. Through the night some of the friends stole quietly near to see if any were alive, and found five living under the heap of dead; two of these died later and three lived. At another place seventy-five miles from here thirty were killed.

* * * * *

A lady missionary writes:

"I saw on March 4 the Koreans being clubbed by the Japanese Fire Brigade with clubs of hardwood, iron bars, long lance poles with steel hooks on the end. These low-down men were protected by policemen and soldiers. All the Koreans had done was for some of them to cheer *Mansei*; then these firemen came out and charged whenever they saw a crowd of Koreans. Men, women or

children—it made no difference. They began clubbing them over the heads until the skulls were split, necks and shoulders torn, blood streaming, and were dragged to prison in this condition. I never was in such a position in my life. I walked through the scene, was ordered off by the gendarme captain, but would not leave. The sight was enough to make the poor Koreans try in some way to defend themselves, but they had not a weapon, neither did they speak an angry word; they kept perfect control of themselves. So far as we know no Koreans have used violence. Whenever this is stated, know that Koreans have first been murdered.

“At Sunk-dok the Koreans were fired on by the gendarmes in the market for cheering *Mansei*, and four killed. At Sing-hung the same was repeated and four killed and four wounded. A woman passing by with a water jar was shot through the neck and killed. At another place, near here, two were killed as they cheered. The sight of blood and the dead enraged the Koreans, and they caught and bound the gendarme in charge. He got free next day and began shooting into the houses; a number were killed and wounded. To-day, the people of that whole countryside are hunted like deer and sent to prison. What I saw this week was nothing to the sights in other places. That was the beginning, and it has continued. They think the foreigners egged the Koreans on, whereas the Koreans, in their deep regard for us, kept us in ignorance of their plans, lest we perish. All the leaders (Koreans) of all churches are imprisoned. We meet for regular service here, but half our folk are in jail.”

* * * * *

I shall refer to just one other region, this time in the far north, not in Korea at all, but in China, in the Kando district of Eastern Manchuria, where Koreans have migrated by tens of thousands. Though it is Chinese territory where the Japanese have no right to be exercising

any control, yet on the ground that the Koreans are Japanese subjects, soldiers and police are to-day perpetrating the same frightful Prussian-like atrocities as in Korea.

A letter written May 24 states:

"To-day, we have authentic news of the burning of fifteen villages and the shooting of Koreans as they escaped. There is reported to be only seven survivors. Some thirty Christian churches have already been burned, and in many cases the members of the congregations have been burned in the buildings. The Korean doctor and Secretary of this hospital have both fled for their lives, and our druggist and two surgical assistants are living in the hospital to avoid being beaten to a pulp. I have photos of many who have been beaten and limbs almost wrenched out of their sockets. Also photos of nineteen dead bodies in our basement laundry, victims of rifle fire from Chinese who were forced on the Koreans by Japanese police. One of our Christian girls, the wife of the Christian boys' school teacher, was arrested, and had all her clothes torn off her by police when being searched and beaten. This was because she did not know where her husband was hiding."

* * * * *

The foregoing are but samples of the reign of terror now prevailing in the Korean Peninsula. Having but recently returned from Seoul, the capital of Korea, I am in a position to write with accuracy of the nature of Japanese militarism. It is absolutely Prussian to the core. Nay, worse. The Japanese military system is modelled on the German system, and when there is added to it the Oriental fine art of cruelty, there is a resultant combination which leads many, who know the system as it operates in Korea, to speak of it as surpassing the Huns and the Turks in inventive barbarity and fiendish ferocity.

XIV

MASSACRES

WHAT has been set forth in the preceding chapter relates largely to methods pursued by the Japanese in cities under the observation of foreigners. In country districts, where there were no foreigners to chronicle the events, villages were wiped out and wholesale massacres took place. What little observations made by foreigners in the remote districts were a small percentage of the burnings and massacres which took place all over Korea. In a signed statement forwarded to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, an American resident describes a massacre in northern Korea, at Maungsan, as follows:

During the first part of March, after the people at this place had shouted for independence, fifty-six people were asked by the gendarmes to come to the gendarme station, which they did. When they were all inside the gendarmerie compound, the gates were closed, gendarmes climbed up on the wall and shot all the people down. Then they went in among them and bayoneted all who still lived. Of the fifty-six, fifty-three were killed, and three were able later to crawl out of the heap of dead. Whether they lived or not is not known.¹

Mr. William R. Giles, whom I quoted in the preced-

¹ *The Korean Situation*, p. 33.

ing chapter, in a statement issued at Peking, June 14, 1919, after his visit to Korea, declares:

In a valley in southern Korea, about fifty miles from Fusan, the Japanese soldiery closed up a horseshoe-shaped valley surrounded by high hills, and then shot down the villagers who attempted to escape by climbing the steep slopes. More than one hundred persons were killed in this affray. . . .

The people are like sheep driven to a slaughter house. Only an independent investigation can make the world understand Korea's true position. At present the groanings and sufferings of twenty million people are apparently falling on deaf ears.

In central Korea, near Suwon district, about thirty miles from Seoul, fifteen villages were completely wiped out of existence by the Japanese soldiers and gendarmes. Many foreigners in Seoul, including British and American Consular officials, visited these devastated districts and made direct representations to the Governor-General. "It was impossible for any evidence to be brought forward to disprove their statement," wrote an American in Seoul at that time. "The fact that so many foreigners visited the scene of this useless burning and murdering has forced the Government to take steps, which otherwise it would never have taken. They are fully aware that it is useless to deny, as they did in other cases, that these acts of inhuman brutality did not take place; the evidence is too strong against them." The Governor-General, after receiving reports from the foreigners who visited the burned districts, expressed his regret and added that the guilty would be punished, which would mean,



A Japanese Officer "Explaining" to an American Missionary Why the Christians at Chai-amm-ni Were Massacred and the Church Was Destroyed.



RUINS OF CHANG-DURI

Only a Few Earthen Jars Left of a Formerly Prosperous Christian Hamlet after the Japanese Soldiers Had Paid It a Visit.

as one Westerner pointedly commented, "very likely that the perpetrators would be promoted to higher posts."

Whether the soldiers, guilty of massacring the innocent people, were actually promoted to higher posts or honourably dismissed from the Japanese army is not known. But it is a proved fact that they were never punished, and burnings and massacres continued, despite the assurance given by the Governor-General at that time that such outrages would never occur again. The following description of three devastated villages in the Suwon district, given by an American who visited them, furnishes a vivid picture of what has been going on in the remote parts of Korea ever since March 1, 1919.

CHAI-AMM-NI

On Thursday, April 17, news was brought to Seoul by a foreigner that a most terrible tragedy had occurred in a small village some fifty li (seventeen miles) south of Suwon. The story was that a number of Christians had been shut up in a church, then fired upon by the soldiers, and when all were either wounded or dead, the church was set on fire insuring their complete destruction. Such a story seemed almost too terrible to be true, and being of such a serious nature, I determined to verify it by a personal visit. On the following day I took the train to Suwon, and from there cycled to within a few miles of the village; knowing the strenuous objections that would be made to my visit, I made a *détour* of several miles over a mountain pass, to avoid the police and gendarme station which I knew was near the village.

Before entering the village I questioned many people as to the reported burning of villages, but none had any

accurate information, and all were very much afraid to speak about the affair. I finally met a boy who lived in the village where the massacre had occurred, but he absolutely refused to tell me anything. He protested his ignorance—terrorism was bearing its fruit—the people were almost paralyzed with fear.

Making a sharp turn in the road I came suddenly into the village, and to my surprise, found a number of Government officials, military and civil, holding an investigation. After a conversation with some of these officials, I was allowed to further look over the village and take some photographs. From Koreans I could get practically no information—they appeared to be dazed and stupefied, especially the women, while the younger men pretended ignorance of any details.

The appearance of the village was one of absolute desolation; about eight houses remained; the rest (thirty-one) with the church had all been burned to the ground. All that remained were the stone jars of pickles and other edibles; these stood in perfect order among the ruins. The people were scattered about sitting on mats, or straw; some had already improvised little shelters on the adjoining hillside, where they sat in silence looking down in bewilderment at the remains of their happy homes. They seemed bereft of speech; they were probably trying to fathom why this terrible judgment should overtake them, and why they should suddenly become widows and their children orphans. There they sat, helpless and forlorn, entirely overcome by the calamity that had overtaken them.

Before long the Government party left the village, and when the officers were well out of sight, the tongues of some of these poor frightened people loosened, and they revealed to me the story of the outrage, which follows:

On Thursday, April 15, early in the afternoon, some soldiers had entered the village and had given orders that

all adult male Christians and members of the Chuntokyo (Heavenly Way Society) were to assemble in the church as a lecture was to be given. In all some twenty-nine men went to the church as ordered and sat down wondering what was to happen. They soon found out the nature of the plot as the soldiers immediately surrounded the church and fired into it through the paper windows. When most of the Koreans had been either killed or wounded, the Japanese soldiers cold-bloodedly set fire to the thatch and wooden building which readily blazed. Some tried to make their escape by rushing out, but were immediately bayoneted or shot. Six bodies were found outside the church, having tried in vain to escape. Two women, whose husbands had been ordered to the church, being alarmed at the sound of firing, went to see what was happening to their husbands, and tried to get through the soldiers to the church. Both were brutally murdered. One was a young woman of nineteen—she was bayoneted to death; the other was a woman of over forty—she was shot. Both were Christians. The soldiers then set the village on fire and left.

This briefly is the story of the Massacre of Chai-amm-ni. The blame for this cannot be placed on the shoulders of the ignorant and boorish Japanese soldiers—officials higher up were cognizant of it, if not directly a party to the plot. It is impossible that the strict discipline which prevails in the Japanese army would allow any private soldier or sergeant taking such responsibility upon his shoulders.

SU-CHON

The hamlet of Su-chon is beautifully situated in a pretty valley some four or five miles from Chai-amm-ni, where the previously reported massacre occurred. But the hand of the despoiler had been there, and his finger prints, black and brutal, lay heavily upon the landscape.

The narrow streets were lined with ash heaps; out of forty-two cottages eight alone remained. Little attempt had been made to clear away the débris by the survivors, for they had no sense of security of life and property, and they apparently feared that any attempt to gather their things together would only bring fresh disasters. Some few old women were sitting by their few belongings—their grief had overcome them—and they were listless and indifferent. I could not help thinking that, perhaps, they were wishing that they had perished in the cruel flames that had swept away their homes and robbed them of all their earthly comfort. There were some little children picking herbs in the fields—they must have something to eat, and all their stocks of rice and other food had been destroyed. The police and soldiers being absent, the people flocked around me and seemed anxious to tell me of their misfortunes. They had recovered from the first shock, but were in constant fear lest the soldiers should come back again and destroy them in the same brutal way that they had destroyed their homes.

The following is the story of the destruction of the village:

On April 6, before daybreak, while all were sleeping, some soldiers had entered the village and had gone from house to house firing the thatched roofs, which quickly caught and destroyed the houses. The people rushed out and found the whole village blazing. Some tried to put out the fire, but were soon stopped by the soldiers who shot at them, stabbed them with their bayonets or beat them. They were compelled to stand by and watch their village burn to ashes. After completing this nefarious work, the soldiers left them to their fate. I was informed that only one man was killed, but that many were seriously injured. I inquired if the wind had spread the fire from house to house. The reply was that the village was on fire at several places at the same time, and that

the soldiers carried matches and set fire to the thatch of many houses.

I could find no real reason for this useless burning down of a village and making a number of people homeless. By such acts Japan is hardening the hearts of Koreans against her. The people are now beginning to feel that the Japanese intend to kill them whether they are innocent of doing any wrong or not, and are arriving at the conclusion that if they have to die, they may as well do so striving for the liberty of their country. They have to die anyway, so what is the good of their trying to live within the bounds of the law—such as it is—when it is impossible for them to obtain justice in any shape or form.

WHA-SU-RI

Wha-su-ri must have been a picturesque village before the barbarous troops of His Majesty's Government transformed it into an ash-heap. The village is surrounded by wooded hills, which slope towards the valley of fertile paddy fields. In the center of the village there had been a lovely "country residence," which had a tiled roof and gateway. Now it is nothing but a huge heap of broken tile, dirt and brick. Some thought that the owner had fled, others said that he had been imprisoned, but no one really knew what had happened to the "squire." Out of some forty odd houses eighteen remained. No wind had spread the fire; something more sure, more definite, more cruel—the hands of Japanese troops whose hearts must have been filled with murder. Apart from the definite statement of the people to this effect, there was the evidence of the burnt houses. In some places burnt and unburnt houses alternated. And the space between burnt and unburnt houses frequently was some distance. As usual, all that remained were the earthenware jars used by every Korean household to hold pickles and water. Groups of such pots and the charred ruins of the wood-

work, the ashes and débris, were all that remained of the erstwhile happy homes. Nothing had been saved from the flames—this could not be allowed by the soldiers of Japan. The devastation must be complete. A blanket, a sack of rice, a bowl or spoon could not be saved on pain of death, so one feels justified in characterizing the refugees as absolutely destitute. Many of the poor people, whose homes had been burnt down, had been welcomed by more fortunate neighbours, to share their comforts of bed, food and fire, while others were living under little straw shelters.

The following is the story of the burning of the village:

On April 11, some time before daybreak, the villagers were suddenly aroused out of their sleep by the sound of firing and the smell of burning. Running into the open they found soldiers and police firing the houses and shooting and beating the people. Leaving everything, they fled for their lives, old and young, the mothers with their babies at their breasts, and the fathers with the younger children—all of them fled to the hills. But before they could make good their escape, many were murdered, shot by the soldiers, wounded and beaten, while a number were arrested and taken to jail.

It is not a long story, but one is made to pause and think and to visualize the scene. Think of its occurring to your own home, to your own village; picture the darkness, the shooting, the beating, the screams of the women and children, the flames, and then the firing of the soldiers on those trying to escape.¹

The Rev. Albertus Pieters of Japan in an article, "The Moral Failure of Japan in Korea—Responsibility of the Japanese Government and Nation," de-

¹For fuller description of the massacres and burnings in Korea, consult *The Independence Movement in Korea* (pamphlet), published by the *Japan Chronicle*, Kobe, Japan, 1919.



"The Hamlet of Su-chon is Beautifully Situated in a Pretty Valley. . . . But the Hand of the Despoiler Had Been There. . . . Out of Forty-two Cottages only Eight Remained."



"Wha-su-ri Must Have Been a Picturesque Village before the Barbarous Troops of His Majesty's Government Transformed it into an Ash Heap. . . . All that Remained were the earthenware 'Jars.'"

HANDIWORK OF JAPANESE SOLDIERS

nounced the massacres as "unprovoked, deliberate, cold blooded murder, for which no sort of mitigation or excuse has been alleged." "This was not an act of war," said the Rev. Mr. Pieters; "no state of war exists in Korea, or could very well exist, as the people have been completely disarmed. Neither was it done by a few rowdy or intoxicated soldiers, who had gotten out of hand, but by an organized detachment acting under orders of their regular officers. There was no resistance or riot to be quelled at the time." After stating that the Governor-General and the officials under him could not escape the responsibility of the crime, the Rev. Mr. Pieters continues:

But is there no further responsibility, beyond that of the Governor-General? What about the moral responsibility of the Japanese people at large? With the deepest concern I have been waiting for the past month, as, I am sure, have many other friends of Japan, to see whether there might be moral feeling and moral courage enough in Japan to find expression in a public protest against this outrage. I have waited in vain. The Japanese residents in Korea outnumber the foreigners many times over, and among them are men of high education and prominent position. The facts were as accessible to them as to the foreigners, but it was left to the latter to wait upon the Governor-General and protest again at this crime. Why was there no delegation of prominent Japanese doing the same thing?

Tokyo is the nerve center of the Empire, the home of meetings and demonstrations of every kind. I looked and hoped for some expression of indignation from the Japanese people originating there, but nothing happened; no indignation meeting, no burning protests in the press,

no denunciation by any political party, no evidence of any kind of concern for the welfare of the Koreans, for the maintenance of righteousness, or for the honour of the Empire. I am reminded forcibly of what a friend said to me at the time of the "Conspiracy Case": "The trouble with the Japanese is that they lack the capacity for moral indignation at wrongs done to others." It really seems so. The "capacity for moral indignation" is lacking, and hence, it is a matter of no concern to the Japanese that unarmed Koreans are shot, bayoneted and burned by men in the uniform of the Empire.

Do not the Japanese people see that such things inevitably affect the world's judgment of them? An outrage by Japanese troops, if an isolated case, promptly disowned and properly punished, would be readily forgiven; but not this apathy that gives itself no trouble to protest. That becomes a measure of the national character, an index of the fitness of the race to associate on equal terms with civilized mankind and to be entrusted with the destiny of undeveloped peoples. It has been said that in the long run every people has the Government it deserves to have. It may equally be said that in the long run every people has the kind of army it deserves to have. Those of us who loved and honoured the Germany of history strove for a long time to make a distinction between the German people and the German military machine, but the attempt broke down in the face of cumulative evidence that the nation approved the doings of the army. The German army was what it was and did what it did because the German people are what they are and love to have it so. Not in one generation or in two will the world be able to look upon the German people with the old respect. The same road is open to the Japanese, and there is but too much reason to fear they are walking in it.¹

¹ *The Shanghai Gazette*, June 5, 1919.

XV

"SPEAKING OFFICIALLY"

WHEN stories of torture and cruelty to prisoners became current among the missionary community, the *Seoul Press* ran a couple of editorial articles pointing out that the Koreans were "atrocious liars," and that the stories of cruelties had been investigated and that the prison authorities assured them that no tortures were taking place. When a missionary showed this article to a Japanese, he naïvely replied that it was intended to mean that there had been no tortures since they had been sent to a certain prison. Another foreigner discussed the editorial with the editor of the paper, who replied that he knew there were cruelties, but that in making that statement, he was "speaking officially."¹

The scope of this chapter will not permit the full discussion of the various phases of the Japanese method of controlling publicity. For that I must refer the reader to my other book, *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, in which I have attempted an exhaustive treatment of Japan's propaganda. Here I shall touch only on those points that have direct bearing upon the Korean question.

For years Japan has controlled the incoming and

¹From a report of a Committee of American Missionaries, published in *Congressional Record*, Vol. 58, p. 2847, July 17, 1919.

outgoing news of the Japanese Empire, and it is sterilized and coloured so as to best serve the purpose of propaganda. The *Kokusai* (Japanese National News Agency) is a subsidized concern and operates under the direct supervision of the Japanese Government. It must be remembered that all cable and telegraphic communications in Japan are owned and controlled by the Government. The *Kokusai* can magnify or minimize, as well as create or suppress, any news item that goes in and out of the country according to the wishes of the Government.

The control of the postal system is equally rigid. Opening private letters is a part of the Governmental system of Japan, and is in perpetual practice, in time of peace as well as in time of war. If a Korean in America should write a letter to his friend or relative at home concerning the Japanese administration in Korea, the officials not only destroy the letter, but also punish the receiver. This policy serves a double function for the Government: (1) The Koreans in Korea not only must be silent on the political situation at home in their communications to their brethren abroad, but cannot receive such communications; (2) Foreign residents in Korea must not criticize the Government either in or out of Korea if they wish to live unmolested. If an American resident of Korea should make a public address or write a magazine article while in America criticizing the Japanese administration, that speech or article will be reported back to Korea by the Japanese secret service in America. Then the American will be questioned by the officials on his return,

and if his explanations are not satisfactory, the Governmental discrimination is such that he will have to leave the country. That is the reason for the voluminous reports and signed affidavits on Japanese atrocities in connection with the Korean Independence Movement of 1919, which were brought to America through underground channels, published in magazines, newspapers and pamphlets by various mission boards and friends of American missionaries in Korea under a *nom de plume*.

The Japanese Government not only seek to suppress the news as to what they are doing in Korea, but create news favourable to their policy. One of the first things the Japanese did in Korea, after establishing their protectorate, was to create a bureau to publish an English annual, entitled, *The Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen*. This English publication is attractively gotten up with many photographic illustrations and is distributed gratis to all great men and big libraries in America and Great Britain. It tells how the degenerate Korean race is being led along the path of modern civilization by the wise and humanitarian statesmen of Japan; and that the Korean people are thoroughly happy, contented and prosperous under Japanese rule.

The vast majority of American and British publicists and statesmen take the official statements of the Japanese Government as being based upon facts; they never stop to investigate that the Japanese Government compile statistics to prove their hypothesis, not to show facts, and that official statements are made

not to inform, but to misinform, the unsuspecting Western public. However, there are a number of men, both in America and Great Britain, who know something about the tactics of the Japanese, and who do not swallow so easily the official bait of the Japanese Government. Thus, the late Walter E. Weyl, a member of the *New Republic* staff, who was in Korea in 1917, writes:

On the whole, Japan has tended to use force rather than persuasion and repression rather than freedom. There has been, and there still is, a strict political censorship. The full measure of Japanese success in Korea could be more easily ascertained and more readily acknowledged if there were greater freedom in the peninsula, were there not an official terrorism which covers up abuses and ruthlessly represses public opinion or free expression of discontent. Possessing only the official Japanese version of the progress in Korea, we are forced to accept all reports with a grain of salt, not disregarding the excellent work accomplished, but recalling at least that we have here a subject population, deprived of primary civil and political rights, unable to express disapproval, repressed and silent. If, in such a situation, one is grudging in praise, the fault lies with Japan's military authorities, who, in their wisdom, have deprived us of the right to hear the evidence in the case.¹

Dr. William Elliot Griffis, the author of the *Mikado's Empire* and *Korea—the Hermit Nation*, minces no words in condemning the Japanese methods of covering up their abuses by official reports. Says Dr. Griffis:

¹ *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, February, 1919, p. 397.



HENRY CHUNG.



KIUSEC KIMM.



SOON HYUN
THE MEMBERS OF THE KOREAN COMMISSION TO AMERICA AND EUROPE

In fact and truth, the day has gone by when any Government dare resent as “interference with its domestic concerns” the protest of civilization against such atrocities as Japan permits in Korea. The brutalities of her underlings in that country, whose venerable civilization is menaced with destruction, can no longer be concealed. As for the Tokyo Government, or any of its literary bureaus, attempting a camouflage, that is impossible even with a censorship that is like that of a blockaded enemy country in time of war. The united testimony of many witnesses, long resident in the land of the Morning Calm, speaking the vernacular and beholding deeds which they have associated hitherto only with the worst brutalities of war, will, in the end, outweigh the moral value of official bulletins or even annual publication of “reforms.”¹

Coöperating with the *Annual Report* is the *Seoul Press*, the only English daily in Korea. It is subsidized by the Government and fulfills the functions of informing the West as the Japanese would like to have it informed. It is said by foreign residents of Korea, and admitted by Mr. Yamagata, the editor of the *Press*, that Mr. Yamagata has two consciences—one official and the other personal. Whenever he creates a “fact” or garbles a news item, his official conscience is dominant and his personal conscience recessive; therefore, he is not responsible. At a meeting of Japanese officials and a number of prominent American missionaries during the Independence Demonstrations of 1919, “the question of the actuality of atrocities

¹ William Elliot Griffis, “An American View,” *The Nation* (New York), Vol. 108, No. 2812, p. 830.

ties was raised. Dr. Moffett gave his own personal experience as an eye-witness. In a private conversation with Dr. Moffett, Mr. Yamagata cheerfully admitted that he was convinced of the truth of the atrocities, but he said that the denials, as published in the *Press*, were 'official.'"¹

The following account of the burning of a Christian church at Tyungju by Japanese soldiers, made public by the Headquarters of the Presbyterian Church in America, at New York, illustrates the kind of "facts" published in the *Seoul Press*.

THE BURNING OF TYUNGJU CHURCH

We give two accounts herewith of the burning of the church at Tyungju, North Pyeng An Province. The one is by the *Seoul Press*, a Government-controlled paper, and the other by the pastor of the church, an American missionary, who saw the church and made careful investigations. The reader is at liberty to draw his conclusions:

Christian Church Burned. (*Seoul Press*, April 13, 1919).

"On Tuesday, at six A. M., fire broke out in a Christian church at Tyungju, site of a district office in North Pyeng An Province, and the whole building was reduced to ashes.

"The loss is estimated at 10,000 yen.

"It is suspected that some Koreans, detesting the purposeless agitation, have been driven by their bitter indignation to commit incendiarism at the expense of the church."

The following is from the pastor of the church:

"Burning of Tyungju Church—On April 8, gendarmes

¹ *The Korean Situation*, p. 28.

came to the large newly built church in Tyungju City, gathered the mats and other furniture together, and set fire to them. They also put out the fire. The Christians have been bending every energy to the building and paying for this building.

"On April 9, at night, as on the 8th, a large pile of combustible material was heaped upon the pulpit and set on fire. A deacon of the church rang the bell, and a few Christians came together and put it out. The next morning the police commanded the Christians, who had houses near the church, to move away, the pretext being that they had set fire to the church.

"On April 10, combustibles were put all about the church, and soaked in coal oil, and then set on fire. They, also, rang the bell, but no one came, and the church burned to the ground.

"On April 11, the wife of the pastor and some of the church officers were called up and rebuked for burning the church. They also gave them a lecture on what low-down rascals the Christians were, stating that not a single person would come out to help put out the fire. As a matter of fact, any appearing on the streets at night are severely beaten, and otherwise mistreated.

"There was a statement in the Japanese press that Christians set the church on fire to show their disapproval of the leaders of the church in the Independence Movement. No comments needed."

* * * * *

It is unnecessary to say more. These articles speak for themselves. The reader can judge of the attitude of the press when the Government permits such stuff to be printed. As the press always is under the censor there, when such stuff is printed the Government becomes morally responsible. The truth is prohibited. Falsehoods and libels are allowed. Such a course of action

only endangers the relations of the Governments concerned.¹

The foreign visitor in Korea must not learn the actual conditions if the Japanese can help it. Thus, for example, if a distinguished American comes to Korea, he is met at the pier by a polished official guide who is conversant in Western manners and customs. He is directed to a hotel (usually the Chosen Hotel which belongs to the Japanese Imperial Railway); he is interviewed by Japanese officials who explain the condition of the country to him; he is taken here and there; he is entertained until his own appreciation of himself grows immeasurably. He is flattered and handled so skilfully that he leaves the country in a haze of happy delight over the wonders he has been shown and the wonderful courtesy and hospitality of the showing. He returns to America praising the Japanese for the wonderful work that they are doing in Korea. The following paragraph from the pen of Elsie McCormick, who visited Korea in March, 1920, is interesting:

True to certain predictions, a suave young Japanese met us at the station in Seoul, announcing that he was the personal representative of the Governor-General. He had heard that some distinguished American ladies were coming, and he would be most happy to put himself at their disposal. Were they to stay long in the city? Perhaps they would like him to make out a schedule, so that they would be sure of seeing the most interesting points. At least, being educators, they would enjoy a

¹ *New York Times*, July 13, 1919.

visit to the Government schools. He would be most pleased to take them. And he also was commissioned to announce that the Governor-General and his wife looked forward to the pleasure of entertaining the ladies at luncheon.

“Propaganda is Japan’s middle name,” remarked an American resident of Seoul, after the young Japanese had withdrawn with many bows and smiles.¹

Fortunately for Miss McCormick, she was forewarned by her friends who know the method of Japanese before she went to Korea. “If you permit the Japanese to take you in tow at Seoul, you will see only what they want you to see. Insist on studying conditions for yourself.” Consequently, she knew what she would encounter. But the majority of unsuspecting visitors fall into the official trap of the Japanese Government propaganda.

This falsified publicity on the other side of the ocean could not have been such a success had it not secured the coöperation of pro-Japanese propaganda in America. Japan is a nation that knows the publicity game, and plays it with consummate skill. During the Peace Conference she spent \$10,000,000 in various European countries for propaganda work. At present she spends several million dollars every year in America for the purpose of “conquest of American opinion.”² “Japanese propaganda is being carried on in this country as determinedly as was the German propaganda before

¹ *Christian Herald* (New York), April 17, 1920, p. 469.

² For a full description of Japanese propaganda methods in America, consult Montaville Flowers, *Japanese Conquest of American Opinion* (New York, 1916).

we entered the war," says V. S. McClatchy, the editor of the *Sacramento Bee*.

There are the various Japan-American Societies, organized ostensibly to promote friendly relations, but used generally to secure the active but innocent assistance of prominent Americans in propaganda work; the commercial and trade organizations used in the same way; the entertainment in Japan of prominent Americans, who come back with a dazzling picture of one side of the shield, and who, apparently, do not know that the shield has a reverse side; men in public speeches and interviews make assertions which any one familiar with Far Eastern conditions knows are entirely wrong; banquets and speeches where most publicity can be secured; special annual Japanese numbers of American newspapers; public lectures and interviews with hired propagandists, both Japanese and American; Japanese news bureaus and magazines.¹

Such men as K. K. Kawakami, the Japanese publicist, who is at the head of the "Pacific Press Bureau," at San Francisco, and Dr. T. Iyenaga, the Director of "East and West News Bureau," of New York, are nationally known, and they wield an influence at the fountain heads of publicity in America. Besides the regular paid propagandists, both Japanese and American, there are a number of people who are sincerely won over by the finer sides of the Japanese character. And then there is the group whose services are enlisted by subtle means of delicate flattery and social ambition. The members of the Japan Society of New

¹ From the *Sacramento Bee*, June 9, 1919; also cf. pamphlet, *The Germany of Asia*, part II, article 1, by McClatchy.

York are mostly from the latter two groups. The Society, at present, boasts a membership of nearly two thousand prominent business and professional men and women in the country, and its annual dinners at the Astor Hotel in New York are the occasions when the "sincere friendship" between America and Japan and the "altruism" of Japan towards other Asiatic countries are given in wine-warmed sentiments of after dinner speeches.

When the *Mansei* demonstrations commenced in March, 1919, a publicist for Japan lost no time in denouncing the work of the Korean patriots. It was the work of "scoundrels and rascals," said he, "and the Korean people themselves had become weary of agitation and angry at the obstacles placed in the way of the education of their children; many of them even welcomed the arrest by the Government of those of their fellow-countrymen who were charged with coercing boys and girls to absent themselves from school." He charged the missionaries with "gross exaggerations," for the reports sent to this country and exonerated the Japanese soldiers for their atrocities. Says this publicist: "when unscrupulous scoundrels . . . collect at a certain spot and *mansei* a few times, they will receive thirty sen each for their pains, and then are led on to assault the police station, or stone the workmen at their work, some one is sure to get hurt even by soldiers much less excitable and much more humane than are the Japanese soldiery."¹

Explanations would be unnecessary. Life is cheap

¹ New York Times, May 11, 1919.

in Korea—very cheap, indeed, from the Japanese point of view. But not so cheap as to induce Koreans to cheer for their country for thirty sen (fifteen cents) and get shot or sabred. It is gratifying, indeed, to know that there are plenty of publicists and scholars in America who will not stoop to venality or allow prejudice to garble truth. The various methods employed by the Japanese Government in an attempt to distort facts concerning the Korean Independence Movement would fill a volume. Therefore, only an epitome of the successive steps taken by the Japanese Government can be given in the remainder of this chapter.

As has been pointed out in previous chapters, the Korean Independence Movement was national in its scope, involving the entire population. It was, in reality, the greatest popular movement in the recent history of Korea. Yet the Japanese, through their absolute control of cable and telegraph systems, kept the outside world in total darkness at first. Even the Japanese vernacular press in Korea, in coöperation with the Government, did not print anything concerning the disturbance. When the newspapers in Peking and Shanghai began to print letters from foreign residents in Korea, received through underground channels, on what was happening in the peninsula, the *Seoul Press* promptly denied the reports of serious disturbances and printed a short item that there was a little riot in a country district in northern Korea which was quickly suppressed by the police. Meanwhile, some of the missionaries in Korea made special

trips to China to mail their letters home in order to avoid the Japanese censor. No sooner were Japanese atrocities revealed through publication of these private letters in the American press than the Foreign Office at Tokyo denied all the charges of atrocities committed by the Japanese soldiers and police in Korea. The Japanese Embassy at Washington gave official dispatches to the press of the country to the effect that “only one person was killed and six wounded in Seoul from the start of the disturbance until very recently.” The official dispatch proceeds:

Perfect care is being taken by the authorities, aided by the Red Cross, of all the wounded, who have been taken to charity and official hospitals in the provinces. The charge that churches, schools and houses of riotous meetings were destroyed by the authorities is entirely unfounded, and in no case have the leaders of the disturbance been put to torture.¹

This official statement, made by the Japanese Embassy in Washington, was based on official communications received from the Japanese Government at Tokyo, headed by the civil, not military, Prime Minister Hara and his able assistant, Baron Uchida, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was given to the press on April 24, 1919, while the reign of terror was going on full blast in Korea. Only nine days prior to the issuance of this official dispatch, April 15, the Chai-amm-ni massacre took place, which the Governor-General was compelled to acknowledge on account of

¹ *New York Times*, April 25, 1919.

the investigations made by the British Consul-General, Mr. Royds, and the American Consul, Mr. Curtice. Wounded men were removed from the Severance Hospital to be the victims of further tortures, despite the protest of the physicians. This was done on April 10, only two weeks prior to the official dispatch that "perfect care is being taken by authorities of all the wounded."

Not only the Japanese Embassy at Washington, but all the Japanese Consulates throughout the United States issued official statements denying the charges of cruelty on the part of Japanese soldiers in connection with the Independence Movement in Korea. However, these denials did not get much hearing, since the evidence confirming the atrocities was too strong. Then the official Tokyo issued another statement to the effect that a certain amount of repression was necessary in crushing the Korean movement, as it was inspired and directed by the Russian Bolsheviks. Again the official statement was given very little credence in the American press. Says the *New York Sun* editorially:

The Japanese have made a display of frankness as to their repressive measures. This falls in with their laying the disturbances to Bolshevik propaganda. The trouble, even from here, may be seen really to partake more of nationalism than of class war. This being the case, the Japanese avowals of troops sent, of wholesale arrests, of stories permitted to come to us of wounded fugitives taken from American Missionary hospitals, of American missionaries arrested on suspicion of aiding the rebels—all put Japan in a dubious light, for they

proclaim the failure of her labours to domesticate the national spirit of the conquered land.

When no other excuse was available for their brutalities in Korea, the Japanese Government forthwith announced the “Reforms” that they were about to initiate in Korea. They thus shifted the basis of their tactics in their publicity propaganda in the West, adopting a new program far more subtle than mere denials, and consequently, more susceptible to the unsuspecting. They now admit wrongs have been done to the Koreans, but say it was all the fault of their militarists over whom the civilian Premier had no control, and of whose deeds the Tokyo Government was ignorant.

This is the most subtly deceiving argument that the Japanese Government has yet invented. This places Japan in a naïve attitude of repentance and tends to deceive even those who know the record of Japan in Korea. But close investigation cannot but reveal that the so-called civil party and military party in Japan are one in advancing the cause of Greater Japan. The terms “military party” and “militarists” are used by Japanese officials and spokesmen for Japan as scapegoats when direct acts of injustice and aggression, which they cannot deny, are brought to their attention. It is beyond question that all the Japanese atrocities in Korea have been committed by the order of the Japanese Government in Tokyo, and not by military officials on their own initiative, as the events prove.

In March, 1919, Mr. T. Yamagata, the Director-

General of Administration, was called to Tokyo for a conference with the Government. Much was hoped that the "Liberal" Premier of Japan, T. Hara, the head of the Civil Party, would declare himself against the cruelties that had been employed. On the contrary, it was decided by Hara and his "Liberal" associates to employ harsher measures. Six thousand soldiers and 400 gendarmes were promptly dispatched to Korea to carry on the work of human butchery. And by far the worst atrocities and massacres were committed by these newcomers. When incidents of massacres were brought directly to his attention by foreign eye-witnesses, the "Liberal" Premier shed crocodile tears.

The underlings in Korea, who were carrying out the orders of this "Liberal" Premier, also adopted two-faced methods in their reign of terror. Thus General Utsonomiya, commander of the military forces of Japan, in Korea, while secretly instructing his officers and men to burn and kill, issued the following public instruction to his soldiers as to their attitude towards the revolutionists:

Warm sympathy should be shown to the erring Koreans, who, in spite of their offense, should be treated as unfortunate fellow-countrymen, needing love and guidance.

Use of weapons should be abstained from till the last moment of absolute necessity. Where, for instance, the demonstration is confined merely to processions and the shouting of *Mansei* and no violence is done, efforts should be confined to the dispersal of crowds by peaceful persuasion.

Even in case force is employed as the last resource, endeavour should be made to limit its use to the minimum extent.

The moment the necessity therefor ceases, the use of force should at once be stopped. . . .

Special care should be taken not to harm anybody not participating in disturbances, especially aged people, children and women. With regard to the missionaries and other foreigners, except in case of the plainest evidence, as, for instance, where they are caught in the act, all forbearance and circumspection should be used.

You are expected to see to it that the officers and men under you (especially those detailed in small parties) will lead a clean and decent life and be modest and polite, without abating their loyalty and courage, thus exemplifying in their conduct the noble traditions of our historic Bushido.¹ . . .

These public instructions were issued on March 12, and the worst burnings and massacres occurred during the latter part of March and April following, which is conclusive evidence that this was issued for effect and not to be carried out. High sounding proclamations and instructions, such as this, were printed in the *Seoul Press* and were circulated by Japanese propagandists in America and Europe as proof of the falsity of the charges of atrocities.

The latest developments in “Speaking Officially” on the “Benevolent Assimilation” of the Koreans was in connection with the visit of the Congressional Party to the Far East in July and August, 1920.

¹ Quoted by Bishop Herbert Welch, “The Korean Independence Movement of 1919,” *The Christian Advocate* (New York), July 31, 1919, p. 971.

Korea was included in the itinerary of the party. American Solons must be kept out of Korea, if at all possible. It would not do for the good name and fame of Japan to give American Congressmen a chance to study the conditions at first hand. Weeks before the party reached Korea, the Japanese Government news agencies became busy sending out broadcast the rumour that Asiatic cholera was raging in Korea. It would be the height of folly for Americans to visit that plague-infested country. However, this did not seem to bother the Americans touring the Orient. Then suddenly there was a plot on the part of the Koreans to bomb the Congressional Party. This also did not seem to bother the stalwart Americans. When it was definitely known that the Congressional Party would visit Korea despite the cholera and the threat of the Koreans to bomb the party, the Japanese Minister at Peking assured the party that the danger was "real." But since the party had decided to visit Korea, the authorities would use every precaution to insure their safety. He emphasized the point that it was absolutely essential for the members of the party to obey the police instructions while in Korea so as to avoid the bomb throwers.

On the day the party was to arrive (August 24), "the streets in the vicinity of the station and up to the main post-office were virtually cleared of Koreans," writes an American eye-witness in the *Japan Advertiser*, "and even Americans and other foreigners, coming from the center of the city to welcome the guests, were turned back by the sabre of the police, and some

made their way to the station by back alleys. Japanese civilians, however, were free to promenade as they pleased. When the guests at length arrived, they were driven to the Chosen Hotel, through streets almost bare of the people and lined by the large force of police already referred to. Had the Koreans been permitted to witness the arrival of the party, its progress to the hotel would, undoubtedly, have been one continued ovation.”¹

The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* at Honolulu, which knows something of the traits of Japanese diplomacy and propaganda through its long contact with the Japanese, commented editorially when neither cholera nor bomb throwing was discovered except the rumour and the signs manufactured by the Japanese Government in Korea:

AN ABSURD PLOT

If Japan's militarists were not sadly lacking in a sense of humour, they could not avoid seeing the absurdity of the efforts they are making to keep the American congressmen, and the world at large, from learning the truth about Korea and their mis-government of that sorrowful country.

Days before the congressional party started north to pay a brief visit to Korea, frantic efforts were made by the Japanese Government officials to keep them out of that country. It would hardly do, of course, to flatly refuse permission for the congressmen to visit Korea, so they were told that a horrible plot had been concocted by the wicked Koreans to kidnap them, perhaps even

¹ Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, November 13, 1920.

blow them up with bombs, so as to embroil the United States and Japan.

When the Japanese discovered that American congressmen were not to be frightened by such ridiculous yarns and were still determined on visiting Seoul, they played another card. They figured that if they couldn't keep the congressmen out of Korea, they could, at least, keep the Koreans away from the congressmen.

So the Japanese army authorities in Korea announced that in order to safeguard the Americans they would be guarded by the entire Japanese army in Korea. And they were, too.

In other words, a military cordon was thrown around them, so that Koreans who wished to approach them and tell them the truth about conditions in Chosen might be headed off. Small chance any Korean would have to present facts to the Americans! Small chance the latter have of making any real investigation! They are, politely, of course, prevented from getting away from their Japanese guards.

But unless we miss our guess badly, the action of the Japanese officials will react unfavourably upon their Government. There are few American congressmen, we hope, who would be taken in by any scheme as raw as the one mentioned. And attempts to deceive them are not liable to enhance the position of Japan in their eyes.¹

The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* had not missed much in its guess. Amidst all the lavish entertainment and effusive hospitality of the Japanese Government, there was at least one Congressman in the party who saw for himself the conditions of the country, untrammelled by the deference of officials who pointed

¹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, T. H.), August 26, 1920.

to only the bright spots. He was Hugh S. Hersman of California, who is well known in his state for his independence of judgment. Mr. Hersman politely refused to be guided around by Japanese officials and went about unescorted by the police, braving the danger of being blown up by Korean bomb-throwers—the peril which was so “imminent” and “real.” He accepted the invitation to address the Korean Y. M. C. A. at Seoul. The hall was crowded and the American Congressman was given a rousing cheer. In his address he made the significant statement that he was “glad to see something of the Koreans before leaving the country.” After his address soldiers and police rushed into the hall requesting Congressman Hersman to leave, and began to arrest the Koreans. Mr. Hersman refused to leave insisting that if any one should be taken he was the one and not the Koreans. This firm stand taken by the Congressman made the Japanese police release all the arrested Koreans.

This incident so disgusted Mr. Hersman that he withdrew from the party which was accepting the hospitality of the Japanese Government, and went around unofficially during the rest of the journey through the Orient.

In a carefully prepared statement given to the press after his landing at San Francisco on October 2, Mr. Hersman said:

Any reference to political matters was, of course, carefully avoided. For five or six minutes I addressed the most eager, intense and expectant audience that it will ever be my good fortune to face. My words were in-

terpreted by Mr. Yun Chi Ho. A short reply was made by the venerable Korean, Yi Sang-jai, who had spent three years in jail for preferring to be ruled over by a Korean rather than by a Japanese.

* * * * *

The Koreans, evidently expecting to go out, followed us into the lobby. They were grabbed by the officers and brutally kicked and manhandled. Both Mr. Gregg and myself vigorously protested at such treatment. I was informed by the officer in charge that the Koreans had all been arrested and that I was expected to go. I told them that if any one should be taken I was the one and not the Koreans. They were very insistent, and I finally said I would not go until they released all the Koreans. After an hour had been spent in consultation and in sending messages, the Koreans were finally released.

Our Consul arrived on the scene about this time, having heard from several foreigners who left the building that I was in grave danger of being arrested. A number of statements have appeared in Japanese papers stating that the police action was justified, because of the crowds that had filled the streets and the disorder in the hall. This statement is, of course, untrue. I never saw a more orderly crowd.

I have talked with many foreign residents from China, Korea and Japan, with officers of the *de facto* Government and the Koreans themselves. I am of the opinion that the policy of the Imperial Japanese Government has been of such a nature that the Korean people will never peaceably submit to it.¹

From the time the Congressional Party left Peking until they arrived in Japan, the semi-official news

¹ *San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Examiner, October 3, 1920.*

agencies at Tokyo kept the wires busy with the horrible reports of the Korean “plots” to kill every one of the party. The Japanese authorities “learned the news that some Koreans broke six rails of the South Manchurian Railway to derail the special train and harm the American statesmen and party.”

It was somewhat ungrateful to the Japanese Government, in view of all the ultra-precautions taken by them to protect the Congressional Party from Korean “anarchists,” that not a single Senator or Congressman of the party, after his return to America, ever mentioned the horrible train-wrecking, bomb-throwing plots or even the hostile attitude of the Koreans to the American party. On the contrary, every one of the Congressional Party spoke of the Koreans as looking towards America for moral support and sympathy in their struggle for liberty.

The Hon. Henry Z. Osborne of California, who was a member of the Party touring the Orient, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on December 23, 1920, described the Japanese official reports of Korean “plots” so inconsequent that “we never even had a meeting on the subject. In fact, we knew that, like the Chinese, they [Koreans] regard the United States as their only possible hope. . . . The Japanese authorities . . . took a good deal of pains to make sure that we should see as few Koreans as possible. None were permitted to come near the railway stations, and soldiers were in evidence on every hand.” In relating his impressions of the Korean people, Mr. Osborne said:

They have the appearance of excellent people, and those that we met were generally bright, intellectually; but in Korea, for the reasons that I have stated, we did not meet many. We travelled all day—Tuesday, August 24—through this beautiful country, for which nature has done so much, stopping frequently at well-built stations, at which uniformed soldiers or police were in attendance, with the constant spectacle of crowds of Korean people—men, women, and children—standing off at a distance and looking wistfully at the train. While they occasionally shouted and cheered, more generally they stood in silence, and we could only guess what may have been in their thoughts. But it seemed to me a silent and impressive protest to the foreign occupation of their country, more expressive than words. I doubt if our party would have been so deeply impressed if the Koreans had been permitted to throng the stations and besiege us with verbal and written petitions and protests.¹

The Hon. Stephen G. Porter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in a public address, said:

The Filipinos, Chinese and Koreans fairly idolize Americans, while the Japanese, at the best, have a cordial dislike for this country. . . . The worship of Americans by the Chinese and Koreans has reached such a stage where natives of those countries virtually put us on a pedestal beside Buddha.

At the same time Mr. Porter and others noted a different feeling in Japan. Continuing he said:

We were cordially received in Japan, but there is an

¹"China, Korea and Japan as seen with the Congressional Party of 1920," *Congressional Record*, Vol. 60, No. 17, pp. 781-802, December 27, 1920.

undercurrent of feeling against this country there. This is evident to any American visiting the Japanese Islands. Many newspapers and public men in Japan even now are talking of war with the United States, seeing in this country their greatest enemy in their present-day efforts at domination.¹ . . .

In April, 1919, while the Japanese reign of terror was going on in Korea, I had a long interview with the president of one of the largest news agencies in America with the hope of convincing him of the advisability of sending a special correspondent to Korea to report the conditions. After listening to my story, he said:

I would gladly send a man capable of handling the situation if such a man were available. But at present all my best men are at Paris reporting on the Peace Conference. If a correspondent were to be sent to Korea, he must be a man internationally known, whose integrity and ability no one would question. Otherwise, the correspondent may be an eye-witness to what he writes, yet the Japanese will have their Premier make out an affidavit to the contrary.

It is, indeed, gratifying to know that a few of the publicists in the West are beginning to realize the dubious methods of diplomacy and publicity propaganda of Japan. Even Japan, past master as she is in the art of deception, cannot “fool all the people all the time.”

¹ Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, October 14, 1920.

XVI

JAPAN'S ALLEGED REFORMS

PUBLICITY is a friend of the oppressed and a powerful enemy of tyranny. Present-day democracies cannot maintain their sane balance without its aid. It came to the assistance of Korea in her fight for freedom. Had it not been for publicity, Marshal Hasegawa, despite all his crimes, would still be the supreme ruler of Korea to-day. It was publicity that compelled Japan to acknowledge, at least, the abuses of her rule in Korea and make even the nominal changes that she did.

When the report of the massacres in Korea began to come to America and Europe, Japan was placed in an embarrassing position. It was at the time when the Japanese delegates at the Peace Conference were championing the principle of racial equality, and Japan was assuming the rôle of the chivalrous knight defending the rights of the weak and the oppressed. Some way must be found to prevent giving publicity to reports that had escaped the blockade of the Japanese censor—at least, the West must not know about the atrocities until the Peace Conference was over, when Japan would have obtained what she wanted. She made desperate attempts to suppress the news of atrocities, but her efforts were futile.

The Headquarters of the Presbyterian Church at

New York issued a stinging report on the Korean situation. The various religious organizations in California voiced their "most solemn protest against the methods of administration, so abhorrent to all sense of justice, so subversive of the very ends for which America and her Allies waged the great world war." The San Francisco Presbytery went so far as to say in its resolution of protest, "We earnestly urge our Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to immediately use all its influence with the Government at Washington to bring these atrocities to a speedy end."

The religious journals in the country were equally vehement in denouncing the reign of terror carried on by the Japanese Government in Korea. Says the *Christian Advocate* (New York), "America cannot and should not be silent when brutality, torture, inhuman treatment, religious persecution and massacre are practised upon an extensive scale by any nation. It is to the disgrace of Christendom that the Turk was so long allowed to terrorize the Bulgars and the Armenians. It is to the honour of Christendom that it took arms against the Teuton when he began his reign of terror over the Belgians. It is the duty of humanity to hold the Japanese Government to account for the horrible deeds which have been perpetrated upon the unresisting Koreans." The *Philadelphia Presbyterian* pointedly states, "The groans of these innocent people have ascended to Heaven, and it is time that Christian nations entered their protest, and the mission boards, who either condone this violence or fail to protest against it, are already condemned." The *Christian*

Herald (New York) goes further than any of its contemporaries and advocates Korean freedom. It says: "Though still but a child in the Gospel, Korea has suddenly become a spiritual example to all the Oriental races through her splendid fidelity to the faith. Christians everywhere will hope and pray that she may attain full freedom, and that some practical way may open in the near future to that accomplishment."

Publications other than religious were no less severe in denouncing the Japanese atrocities. The *Literary Digest* of May 31, 1919, published a scathing letter written by a British resident of Korea. The New York *Herald* of June 16, 1919, published a series of eye-witness statements made by American residents in Korea on the situation, under the caption of "Christians Persecuted in Korea with Hun Ferocity."

Blank denials were no longer possible. In order to preserve her good name in the West, it was necessary for Japan to admit her wrongs and promise to do better. This was brought about by announcing "reforms" in Korea. An Imperial Rescript was issued in Tokyo on August 19 and was given to the American press by the Japanese Embassy at Washington on August 20. It promised "to promote the security and welfare of our territory of Korea and to extend to the native population of that territory, as our beloved subjects, fair and impartial treatment, in all respects to the end that they may, without distinction of persons, lead their lives in peace and contentment."

The rescript, coupled with a statement of Premier Hara, broadly hinted at promise of local self-govern-

ment for Korea and reforms looking towards home rule. The military Government should be succeeded by a civil one; the military gendarmerie was to be replaced by a civilian police force under civilian control; a system of village and town municipal Government, based on popular suffrage, was to be undertaken; and the Koreans should have the same privileges and legal rights as the Japanese, who, heretofore, had been a privileged class.

The new administration came into office on September 1, with Admiral Saito, former minister of the navy, succeeding General Hasegawa, as the Governor-General, and Midzuno taking the place of Director-General Yamagata of Administration.

Disinterested friends of Korea and Japan hoped that many liberal reform measures would be introduced and carried into effect by the new administration. In the light of the Imperial policy of Japan, autonomy for Korea, far less independence, could not be expected, unless it were forced out of Japan. But in view of all these promises given in official statements and the Imperial Rescript, it was reasonable for fair-minded Westerners to expect the Japanese to give to the Koreans the primary political and civil rights, such as allowing the study of Korean language in schools; granting the right of petition, of assemblage, of free speech, of free press; giving equality before the courts; enforcing social justice; granting political amnesty; and abolishing all forms of torture in the examination of prisoners:

These expectations, reasonable as they are, were met

only with disappointment. The only reforms that have been introduced are the changing of the name of the "military" administration to that of the "civil," and the "gendarmerie" to "police." Six thousand soldiers and four hundred gendarmes, sent to Korea in April, 1919, to carry on the reign of terror—at the very time when Foreign Minister Uchida and Premier Hara were sending cable messages to America assuring the American public that they were "most deeply concerned in regard to the introduction of reforms into the Governmental administration of Chosen"—still remain in Korea to do their patriotic duty of killing Koreans. In addition to this, according to a report sent from Seoul on January 12, 1920, the administration has increased the police force by adding 196 officers and 3,055 policemen to be distributed in fourteen places, including Seoul, Songdo and Fusan.

As yet, there is no security of life or property in Korea, and martial law is enforced as rigidly as ever. I cite the following translation of two official orders, issued by the Saito Administration on September 29 and October 3, 1919, after the "reforms" were introduced in Korea:

Eight Year of Taisho, September 29.

Directions Issued as Special Instructions to the Local Police Chiefs:

It is rumoured that, taking advantage of the autumn holidays—the 14th and 15th of this month, according to the old calendar—public disturbances will reoccur. For this offense no mercy will be shown to any one; but such offenders will be shot on the spot. As a preparation against such happening during these two days the public

should take note of this warning. There should be organized at once units composed of each five families, with a supervisor at the head of each unit. These units should have in charge the prevention of all drinking, and there should be no country music permitted as was formerly the custom. All these matters are entrusted to the chiefs of the local police.

Eight Year of Taisho, October 3.

Direction and Warning Concerning Prevention of Disorder: When the authorities carefully inspected reports concerning the formation of the five family units, above shown, according to the directions issued a few days ago for the special consideration of the local police chiefs, it has been found that no reports have been received from outside of Kem Sung Ni. The people there must be drunk or dreaming, at a moment so dangerous as this. The authorities realize the necessity of checking the disturbing elements and protecting the loyal citizens. For these reasons, we hereby issue another message in order to warn the public. There should be neither music, "moon gazing," wrestling, nor sham battles; nor should there be any drinking parties either on mountain or plain, lest some who entertain "secret thoughts" may shout *Mansei* by the hundreds in response to one cry at the height of mental disorder under the influence of intoxication, and lest some other improper behaviour may occur. In cases as described above, shooting will be employed as the chief means of prevention according to the "Public Safety Ordinance" just revised by the authorities.

Formerly the soldiers and gendarmes shot people who shouted for independence for Korea, under the oral instruction of the authorities, but now they have written orders, which is an improvement.

The judicial system, under the new Administration, seems to have gone through the same kind of improvement. It is remarkable for its simplicity. At the trial of political prisoners arrested since March 1, 1919, all legal procedure was suspended. The only question that was put to the prisoner was, "Will you do it (shouting independence for Korea) again?" If the prisoner answered in the negative, he was released. If he said he would, he was put back into prison and tortured until his spirit was completely crushed. A girl student from Yern Dong Academy (American Presbyterian College for Girls), Seoul, said to the judge, "I would do it again the first chance I got." She was promptly dragged back into the prison cell.

The barbarous method of prison tortures and flogging still exist under the "reformed" system. On October 30, a day before the Japanese Emperor's birthday, a prisoner was released without trial. The police pulled out four of his toe nails within two weeks of his release as a gentle warning that he must not entertain "dangerous thoughts." A girl prisoner was released without trial after seven months of imprisonment, during which she underwent four periods of torture. Once she was tortured for six successive hours. Twisting her legs until the excruciating pain made her insensible, searing her tender parts with a red-hot iron, stripping and kicking were some of the tortures that were administered to her by the "polite" Japanese police—all with the knowledge and sanction of the "reformed" Government.

As late as October, 1920, over a year since the in-

roduction of "reforms" in Korea, a missionary wrote:

Lately a number of Koreans were arrested and treated with the same old methods. How do I know? The foreign physician was called to the police station to revive our young Korean doctor who was nearly killed by the torture. The worst of it was that the man was found innocent and released after this "examination."

Recently, a pastor, four elders and some other church officers, were on their way to an Officers' Class. At the church, where they were stopping over Sunday, one of the elders, in preaching, spoke of the Korean nation as a "suffering people." The next day the whole congregation were arrested, taken to the country jail, kept there three days and then each one flogged to impress it upon them they were not a suffering people. The church at which I now am is close to the police station. The police came and ordered the Christians not to ring the bell nor sing because it disturbed them. The Christians report that all the prisoners are badly beaten in their preliminary examinations, and that one man, a non-Christian, from Manchuria, was beaten to death recently.¹

Referring to the above letter published in the *Japan Advertiser*, the *Seoul Press* said editorially:

We venture to say that he is but a morbid antagonist of the Japanese Régime in Chosen; that he is forcibly prejudiced against anything Japanese, whether good or bad, and unfortunately, like a few others, he belongs to a gang of foreign agitators of the anti-Japanese movement in Korea.²

¹A letter published in the *Japan Advertiser*, October 14, 1920.

²Editorial, "Missionary Meddling in Politics," *Seoul Press*, October 20, 1920.

Evidently, the "reforms" have not touched the "official conscience" of Mr. Yamagata, the editor of the *Press*; thus he still speaks "officially."

Freedom of speech and of the press has been promised by the Japanese Government under the "reformed" administration. But, thus far, it is merely an empty promise, made for the purpose of giving it out to the Western press. Whatever freedom was given to the Koreans was given with one hand and taken away with the other. The Great Korean National Association, organized by the Christians in northern Korea, with its headquarters at Pyeng Yang, under the promise of "freedom of speech" of the Civil Administration, was dissolved by the authorities on the ground of its "anti-Japanese attitude," and most of its members were arrested.¹

In the spring of 1920, Tokyo announced with considerable flourish that three Korean newspapers would be permitted to issue. It was announced that one would even be edited by a leading Korean nationalist. The three papers actually made their appearance. But of the three, two are edited by Korean hirelings of the Japanese Government, and their columns contain undisguised Japanese propaganda intended to break down the morale of the Korean advocates of independence. The third, the *Korean Daily News*, was edited by a Korean nationalist. But while the other two have been unmolested by the authorities, the *Korean Daily News* has been suppressed more than twenty-three times during six months, all the issues being confis-

¹ *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, November 7, 1920.

cated. Finally, the paper was closed down in September, 1920, and its editor is in prison at the present time.¹

Even religious weeklies, published by missionaries, suffer the same persecution under the Civil Administration of Admiral Saito as they did under the Military Administration of General Hasegawa. Thus, the *Christian Messenger*, published by the Christian Literature Society of Korea, which had been permitted by General Hasegawa, was confiscated on September 3, and its issues were destroyed by the police. Gerald Bonwick, its publisher, in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Seoul Press*, September 14, 1920, says: "We have no desire to offend purposely, we have no political axe to grind; our purpose is to give news and information together with comment in a fair and straightforward manner, and if by accident something creeps in that is not quite pleasing to the powers that be, it would be better policy to ignore it, rather than to confiscate the edition."

Maltreatment of women has not been abolished. One hundred and six women were "rounded up" during the first part of November, 1920, for no other crime than that they were members of the Korean Women's Patriotic League.² Needless to say that they were put through the usual Japanese tortures in prisons.

Massacres still continue. On October 30, 1920, Japanese infantry surrounded the town of Lungpin-Tsun near Chang Yen district, and shot twenty Ko-

¹ New York *Tribune*, October 24, 1920.

² Los Angeles *Times*, November 7, 1920.

reans who were suspected of being "rebels." Then the soldiers put to torch the Christian mission and the schoolhouse of the town.¹

Korean communities in Manchuria are singled out for destruction. Dr. S. H. Martin, a Canadian Presbyterian missionary at Yong Jung, South Manchuria, sent a signed statement to the Associated Press, in which he described the Japanese infantry as burning villages, setting fire to the crops and massacring the inhabitants. He named thirty-two villages in which massacres occurred. In one village 148 persons were killed. Says Dr. Martin: "The Japanese sent 15,000 troops into this part of China, with the seeming intention of wiping out the entire Christian community, especially young men. Villages were methodically burned daily, and the inhabitants in them shot. Yong Jung is surrounded by a ring of villages, which suffered from fire and wholesale murder."²

The Rev. W. R. Foote and a number of prominent Canadian missionaries made representations to the Japanese Consul at Mukden in regard to the Japanese soldiers "butchering innocent Koreans, including many Christians, without trial."³

Colonel Mizumachi, the head of the Japanese Military Commission in Manchuria, made a sensational reply, in which he charged the missionaries as interfering with the political affairs of the Japanese Empire, and denied that any Korean was executed without

¹ Associated Press cable from Tokyo, November 9, 1920.

² *Washington Post*, November 30, 1920.

³ *Des Moines Register*, November 27, 1920.

inquiry or trial. He poignantly concludes: "The success or failure of your propaganda, in and out of Korea, depends solely on your willingness to coöperate with the Japanese Government."¹

In a long editorial on Japanese massacres of Korean inhabitants in Manchuria, the *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo) says in part:

We cannot escape the conclusion that the missionaries' facts substantially are correct. These signed reports, it must be remembered, corroborate a great many others to the same effect.

Their narratives are a flat contradiction of the suggestion that an inquiry of any sort took place before the killing. If the proceedings at Noreabawie are reported correctly, there was a discrimination beyond what was implied, in fact only able-bodied men were killed.

If, when burning a village is punishment, you give orders to shoot all able-bodied males, it is obvious that the plea that no executions take place without inquiry or trial, is worthless. The word execution cannot possibly be used when there is no pretense of accusation or trial.

What opinion can be formed in other countries, except that this is a campaign of frightfulness, in which murder and massacre are deliberately employed?²

The local self-government, promised by the Imperial Rescript and official announcement of Premier Hara, is being carried out in some districts in Korea, not as a measure of giving self-government to the Koreans,

¹ Press dispatch via Japanese military telegraph to Seoul, thence to Tokyo and to America, November 30, 1920.

² Quoted by Frederick Smith, Far Eastern correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, in a dispatch to his paper, December 4, 1920.

but as a part of the Japanese espionage system. Koreans were allowed to meet together for the discussion of their local affairs, presided over by Japanese. If a Korean shows any signs of anti-Japanese spirit, he is rushed off to prison. In each community, the leader of the meeting must report to the police every man who entertains "dangerous thoughts." A leader, who fails to make the report, if found out, is given proper punishment—usually confinement without trial coupled with flogging. Thus, the "self-governing" measure of Japanese rule in Korea is another means of weeding out Koreans who show any spirit of freedom.

All this myth of Japanese "reforms" in Korea is not at all surprising to the Korean. By his sad experiences in the past, the Korean has learned that he cannot believe Japanese on oath. In 1895, when the Korean Queen was murdered by the Japanese Minister, Count Miura, under the instruction of his Government, the West was horrified. In order to save the face of Japan, Count Miura was removed from his post, and Marquis Ito, then the Premier of Japan, declared that he would see to it that the culprits would be punished. The Japanese court at Hiroshima found that "about dawn the whole party (Japanese assassins) entered the palace through the Kwang-hwa gate, and at once proceeded to the inner chambers. Notwithstanding these facts, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them."¹ Thus the case was dismissed. And Count Miura and his fellow-as-

¹ Appendix I.

sassins were heralded throughout the Japanese Empire as national heroes.

The same thing is taking place now. Japanese can no longer deny the wanton massacres carried on by their soldiers under the instruction of Hasegawa and Yamagata, the two chief culprits in the Korean crime. So the two men resigned from their posts in Korea to save the face of Japan. They should have been tried and punished according to their crimes. Instead, Premier Hara says in commenting on the resignation of these two men: "I regret to announce the resignation of Marshal Hasegawa, Governor-General, and Mr. Yamagata, Director-General of Administration, both of whom have rendered eminent service to the State at the important posts which they have occupied for several years."¹

In case of gendarmes and soldiers, who did the actual killing, they not only still remain in Korea to carry on their rule of terror under a different name, but they have been awarded honoraria by the Japanese Government of 150 yen to 400 yen according to rank and service rendered to the cause of Greater Japan by their heroism in killing defenseless men, women and children.

It is said by those who have interviewed Baron Saito that the new Governor-General is sincere in his desire to better conditions in Korea, although he has not as yet given any signs of his good intentions. Even if he has good intentions, he can do nothing unless given

¹Premier Hara's official announcement given to the press by the Japanese Embassy at Washington, August 20, 1919.

a free hand from above and coöperation from below. He has neither at present. When the Tokyo Government appointed him the civil Governor of Korea, they withdrew him from retirement and put him on the active list of the navy. This, in effect, makes the civil administration of Korea a part of the Japanese military régime as it has been in the past, and the civil Governor is under the thumbscrew of Japanese militarists. Baron Saito has no alternative but to continue the Japanese policy of assimilation or annihilation forced upon the Koreans by his predecessors, Terauchi and Hasegawa, under the instruction of official Tokyo.

The second obstacle standing in the path of Baron Saito is the system of Japanese colonial bureaucracy that has existed in Korea ever since the annexation. However good the Governor-General's intentions may be to better conditions in Korea, no change of any kind can be brought about without a complete sweep-out of the present officials, from highest to lowest. It is beyond question that these officials will never be any better than they have been, even under orders. Already it is evident that some of the good orders that have been issued by Baron Saito have been quietly pigeonholed by the men lower down. A Japanese officer in Korea, no matter how humble his station may be, is an autocrat in his sphere. He has little knowledge of administration and cares less. He believes in his superiority and struts along with rattling sabre, bullying and robbing, on the slightest pretext, every Korean who crosses his path. A grain of common sense or a knowledge of human nature is an unknown quantity

among the Japanese officialdom in Korea. If Baron Saito attempts genuine reforms in Korea, depending on the support of these officials, one may waste a little pity on him.

Above and beneath all the high-sounding official declarations and beautiful promises of reforms, what are the facts and where *are* the reforms? They are the proof of Japanese pudding of Civil Administration in Korea. I quote the following from an American eye-witness which gives a vivid picture of Japan's alleged reforms in Korea:

What are the facts? To the impartial observer it is difficult to see wherein the outlook of the officialdom as a whole is changed. Tortures, as I have said before, have not ceased. The Japanese deny this, but the evidence is there for whoever seeks it. Every day innocent men are being arrested, in Seoul, in Taiku, in Shen Chen, in Pyeng Yang, in Chemulpo, in scores of other cities; every day they are being arrested on the vaguest suspicion, tortured to make them "confess," held for several days or weeks and then, if nothing is found against them, released without explanation or apology—just turned out. There is no denying this. I have talked to a score of such men myself. I sat in my room in one city and had them come to me one at a time and tell me their stories. Better yet, I have seen the marks on their bodies, the wrenched arms, the torn flesh where ropes had been bound tight, the rotted flesh where they had been flogged ninety strokes with three bamboo rods tied together with rough cord. Word of mouth may be deceptive, those marks are not; they are not self-inflicted just for the purpose of deceiving one newspaperman.

Thousands of youths, both boys and girls, are still in prison in the freezing cold of Korea for having done no

more than shout *Mansei*. There is no word of amnesty, no hint of mitigation of sentences; instead, there is mistreatment in foul prisons.

In one city a girls' society made a large number of straw shoes which it asked permission to send to the women in one prison. Permission was refused. The women are still walking the icy stone prison floors in their bare feet night and day.

Detectives and spies are paid so much per person for arrests, irrespective of guilt or innocence. And it is openly charged that the procedure of the Conspiracy Case is being repeated. On the pretext of political charges men are being put into prison whom it is wanted to get out of the way for other reasons; leaders in business and possible competitors, scholars, Christian pastors. These men may or may not have any connection with the independence movement; the object is to prevent the growth of a Korean leadership even for non-political purposes.¹

The Japanese rule in Korea, ever since the annexation, has been a continual series of deceits, intimidations, cajoleries, oppressions and treacheries. The Korean well understands the nature of the Japanese, and therefore, he does not expect any reforms. It has been the history of Japanese domination in Korea that whenever there was any criticism in the West of their misrule, the criticism was met by announcement of reforms. There were to be reforms in 1905 after the protectorate was established; reforms in 1907 when Prince Ito took over the administration; reforms in 1910 when the country was formally annexed; reforms after the infamous Conspiracy trials of 1912-13. Now

¹ Nathaniel Peffer, "A Japanese Idea of Reform," *China Press*, December 16, 1919.

once again there are to be reforms. Calculating and relentless, the ruling caste of Japan will not introduce any genuine reforms in Korea unless they are forced to do so, either by foreign pressure or internal revolution. At present, there are signs of neither. What little liberalism in Japan we hear of in America is manufactured for export purposes, especially to America, not for home consumption. Indeed, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge hit the bull's eye of the promises of Japanese statesmen when he said in his speech on the Shantung question in the Senate: "Whatever promises she (Japan) has made were all marked by one vital omission—time." Premier Hara said that the reforms in Korea will be initiated "eventually" and will be carried into effect "when time is considered opportune." This loose phrase is capable of many interpretations according to the wishes and conveniences of the Japanese Government. Baron Saito, the Civil Governor of Korea, reflected the opinion of the Premier when he said in his report on the Korean situation to the Japanese Diet on February 23, 1921, nearly two years after the reforms and Civil Administration went into effect, that the "extension of the Japanese electoral law to Korea must await the time when the people of that country are capable of exercising the duties of citizenship."¹

Bishop Warren A. Candler, President Emeritus of Emory College, expresses the opinion of the best informed on the oft-repeated reform announcements in the Japanese Government in Korea, when he says in

¹ *New York Times*, February 25, 1921.

an article, "The Hun of the Orient in the Belgium of the East."

The recent proclamation of Japan, in which the misdeeds of the militarists in Korea are confessed and a better order of things under civilians is promised, should deceive no intelligent and informed man. The change of men will have no effect to change measures. Japan's promises with reference to Korea have never been kept. Her treaty, guaranteeing the independence of Korea, was shamelessly broken in less than three years after it was signed. Germany did not prove faithless to Belgium so quickly, nor so disgracefully. Japan cannot be trusted to treat Korea with justice and humanity.

In 1906 I visited both Japan and Korea, and there I saw such oppression of Koreans by the Japanese that the atrocities perpetrated during the present year do not surprise me.¹

The Korean, on the other hand, will not be satisfied even if genuine reforms are introduced in Korea. His cry is complete independence. He has been aroused from his long sleep by the sound of clashing arms, the cry of a murdered queen, the tramp of armed men. He is proud of the accomplishments of his forefathers, and is willing to make himself a worthy heir of his past glory. He sees the privileges of political independence and is ready to shoulder the responsibilities accompanying it. Besides this spirit of national consciousness for freedom, the Korean entertains bitter hatred towards the Japanese, and feels that the less he has to do with his Island neighbour, the better off he will be.

¹ *The Atlanta Journal*, September 7, 1919.

XVII

KOREAN AND JAPANESE CHARACTERS CONTRASTED

“**K**OREA at the present time would be a fertile field for another Bryce investigating commission,” writes a close observer of the trend of events in that far-off land. But Korea presents more than a land of tragedy; it is a scene of constantly changing drama of sublime pathos and inspiring heroism. The inter-play of the innermost human passions and subtle racial psychology, which forms the background of the play, is never lost to view. Aside from the question of forced assimilation, which is an interesting study in itself, the fundamental difference between the Koreans and the Japanese, and how each people look at the same problem from an entirely different point of view, is a study well worth research.

The Koreans always worshipped Hananim, a name that conveys the idea of one Supreme Ruler over the universe. This monotheism in Korea is, undoubtedly, one of the reasons for the amazing success of the Christian missionary among the Korean people. To the Korean, moral courage, rather than physical courage, is by far the superior type, and unity of mind and consciousness of one's duty to a great cause is power.

Once a girl "rebel" was asked by the judge in a trial court, "What is independence?" "Independence?" said the girl, and her eyes looked beyond the stuffy court, "what is independence? Ah! independence is a happy thought!" This spiritual understanding of one's consecration to a great cause enabled the Korean boys and girls, to say nothing of the grown-ups, to meet the police and soldiers with the cry: "You may kill my body, but you will never kill the spirit that makes me shout *Mansei*."

Mrs. Robertson Scott, an English novelist, who was in Korea during the Independence Movement of 1919, in her analysis of the "warring mentalities" in Korea, records the following incident as a typical trend of the Korean mind:

A clergyman in Seoul—such a young man as may be met any day at a Cambridge tea-party—said with deep conviction, "The Koreans are so brave that the Japanese do not understand it. The Koreans, I believe, are the only people on earth who are really 'meek' in the scriptural sense. The Japanese think their meekness is cowardice, whereas it is moral strength."¹

To the Japanese the only power is material might, which has one embodiment—the army and navy. Such a thing as *noblesse oblige* in governing a weaker people is unknown among Japanese officials, both civil and military. In its place, they have false dignity and self-conceit, which is always coupled with a tendency

¹ "Warring Mentalities in the Far East," by Mrs. Robertson Scott, *Asia*, August, 1920, pp. 693-701.



VISCOUNT KIM YŪN-SIK, the Most Renowned of the Korean Literati, was Sentenced to Two Years of Penal Servitude for Petitioning the Japanese Governor-General to Stop Atrocities.



Modest and Demure is the Korean Christian Maid, but Neither the Glimming Bayonet nor the Prison Torture of Japanese Officials Can Daunt Her Spirit of Liberty.

to be cringing before the strong and overbearing towards the weak. Hence, they show their smirk and smile to the Westerners, but to those weaker than they in the East, their fiendish nature of calculating treachery and relentless brutality is revealed. Professor Inazo Nitobe, the eloquent interpreter of the Japanese Bushido to the Western world, says with regard to Korea: "I do believe it is the right of every people to do as they will, regardless of consequences to their neighbours."¹ Professor Nitobe must have two sets of interpretations of the Bushido—the beautiful, self-denying and chivalrous interpretation for the West, and the interpretation based on the doctrine that might makes right for the East.

It is Japanese political philosophy that individual citizens exist for the sake of the State, and not the State for the welfare of its citizens. Hence, morality, conscience, humanity, frank statement—everything is sacrificed for the cause of Greater Japan. In the most cruel periods of Japanese tyranny of Korea, and during the worst of the reign of terror, March and April, 1919, there was not a single Japanese citizen or civilian official to protest, much less to criticize, to their Government with a view of stopping the atrocities. When foreigners began to protest in the name of humanity, *then* a number of citizens and civil officials, as a face-saving device, start to criticize the military officials for their "harshness," thus using the soldiers and police as the scapegoat.

¹ From an article by Inazo Nitobe in *Japan Magazine*, April, 1920.

All through the fires of political persecution during the Independence Movement, the fundamental difference between the Korean and Japanese characters were brought out in bold relief. The Japanese looked upon the Koreans as possessing no power. The Korean, in his turn, not only hated, but despised, the Japanese. The Japanese thought they could stamp out the fires of Korean patriotism with their iron heel, whereas they only fanned the smouldering flame with their *schrecklichkeit*. The action and reaction of the two different mentalities, Korean and Japanese, on the same question, is a fascinating study, even though connected with grim tragedy.

Of the wide survey that I have made of current literature and the mass of unpublished manuscripts on the topic, I find none that presents with greater force and precision the contrast between the Korean and Japanese mentalities and their respective views on the Korean situation than the two anonymous articles which I subjoin. One on "The Korean's Courage" is from an unpublished manuscript, and the other on "Japan's Problem" appeared in the *Japan Advertiser*, July 11, 1919, under the *nom de plume* of "Spectator." The author of these two articles is a Britisher, who has resided in the Orient for over thirty years, and who is a profound scholar of Oriental history and politics.

THE KOREAN'S COURAGE

It was thought by those who knew the Korean best that he was a man lacking courage. He possessed a kind of frenzy, under high pressure, that would go to

the bitter end. But for cool courage that could smile down any menace that might threaten, he has never been given the credit. In these days of his new birth as a nation, however, he has displayed characteristics that have caused the onlooking foreigners to stand in wonder. He may be a timid man before small dangers, like Queen Elizabeth, who, though ready to climb onto the table at the sight of a mouse in the room, could say, with the Armada sailing up the Channel, "I have only the body of a weak, feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king; and of a king of England, too." This heart and stomach is Korea's, for, during these last two memorable months, not a fear has been hers. Quiet, cool, calculated courage has she shown, much as any admiral moving into action might well be eager for.

Korea has learned through the years gone by that the machine that benevolently governs her is of the order of the Hun. It makes laws; it fixes and regulates everything under the sun, almost to a man's breath, *verboden* this and *verboden* that; it keeps tab on your every motion; it has spies and police and gendarmes and soldiers at its beck and call. Rats listen back of the wall at night and birds catch your thoughts during the day and convey them to the chief of police or gendarmerie. Your house is searched at any hour by barbarians, who walk over the inner mats with their boots on, and then wash their dirty hands in your drinking water at the door. If you get in their way, they drive their scabbard into your stomach or promptly give you the gun-butt back of the ear in a way to make you see stars. They wear hobnails ready to kick or trample any man, woman, or child, who falls foul of them. They have back of them an inferno little better than Tartarus, fitted with prison bars and torture chambers that might well daunt the stoutest patriot. Korea knows this. She has not lived ten years without sensing the kind of ogre who has her in his grip, and what it

means for any man to rise and say, "I'll have none of you."

In the face of this, it took courage on March 1 for the thirty-three leaders, here and there throughout the land, to come boldly out. Not a weapon did they have. Belgium was brave when she threw her army into the breach and defied the German millions, but Korea was braver still when she said, "I have no arms, no power to fight, no one to whom to appeal but God, no redress. Even my body is not mine—only my soul. My soul only, but bend it never will." They spoke the word. They set the movement going. They gave their benediction to all around, with smiling faces, and then walked quietly to arrest, and unresistingly let themselves be taken. The prison doors clanged hard behind them, with no word since. We hear reports of pain and mortal agony, but even the wife at home keeps a cheerful face and says, "Never mind, it's for the Cause."

Those who are on the spot, like the writer, know that this is courage of the first order. The martyrs, who went to the stake in the sixteenth century, were not braver; not even those who died in the days of Nero.

Still, the men on that first day did not know what fully awaited them, and so may have gone forth unwittingly. Ere night fell crowds had been cut down with swords, beaten with fire-hooks, hammered with bludgeons, shot, trampled, ridden over, till peace was restored.

The demon of order that rules Korea doubtless said, "I've taught these fools a lesson. They'll think twice before they venture again to run counter to the might of Japan."

Little did he know. It has not ceased till this day. Here and there by day, by night, crowds gather like armies of the unseen, suddenly flashed visible. "Long live Korea! Independence forever!"

No word has been heard of "Down with Japan," no resentment shown. Had Korea desired, on that second day, seeing her bleeding, trampled sons, and knowing how the foul fiend would treat them in prison, she could have armed herself with clubs and stones and killed every Japanese in the outlying country and burned every house in Seoul, with probably less punishment than she took for simply calling Freedom. But this was not her order of the day. "Hurt no one. Do no violence. Let our Cause be known. It is just."

Doubtless Japan has kind hearts in many places, and she must not all be condemned, but kind hearts are not evident in the machine that governs Korea, and to the Korean this machine is Japan and all Japan. It thought that a few rounds of this kind would surely end the mad craze that possessed the Korean and deliver the Government from the trouble on hand, but no such result followed.

When one group was put down by sword, gun and iron bar, others stepped into their places to take up the call. Like the fiery cross of ancient Scotland, it flits from hand to hand, till the whole land is caught by its spirit and the only thought is to pass it on.

One of the striking features of courage is that shown by the young women. Right well they know what tortures await them if they are caught, and yet they have been as fearless as the men. Some of those taken March 5, when on their way to wave the flag, tell their story. Kicked, beaten and flung into the police station, there to undergo such torture as would daunt the bravest!

Girls brought up in tender surroundings just as carefully as regards their persons as any young woman in the Western world, are subjected to this agony, and yet they take it with smiling faces. A few days ago I met one of them, whom the police are close after, and said to her, "Have a care. Keep out of it." She smiled in

an easy, unsuppressed way, said her gentle thanks and was gone.

Kim Maria, a young woman of about twenty-five years of age, whom I have known from a child, is now locked up in the inner prison. She is a beautiful type of Oriental with dreamy eyes and dark lashes, such as only the hidden vistas of Asia ever see. For some years she has lived in Japan and speaks her language like a native tongue. What is her sin? The same as that which sent Madame Breshkovsky to the salt mines of Siberia. She is a patriot and would give her life to see Korea free. Maria knew what others suffered before she went, but that must not interfere with her contribution to the Cause. She chose Tennyson's line, "the thumbscrew and the stake for the glory of the Lord."

Another mark of Korea's courage is seen in the plain men of the country, the small farmer, who has had little chance to know the larger questions of life. In his quiet soul many of Confucius' maxims reside. He is no Bolshevik, not he, for the Five Rules that hold society together in East Asia hold him firm. He has awakened, however, to the fact that all men are born somehow with certain inherent rights, the right to think, the right to speak, the right to pray. He joins the vast throng of Koreans, now numbering millions, who are on the march shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom. He knows, as the *Daily News* to-day announces, that any man calling Freedom will get ninety blows of the bastinado. What is left of him will be but a poor rag to start ploughing for the summer season. Still, he is undaunted and goes forth. The gendarmes and soldiers, half beside themselves, and not knowing what to do, fire pointblank into these defenseless crusaders with ball cartridges, thinking to stamp them out, but not a bit of it.

I asked a former provincial Governor, who called on me yesterday, what is in the mind of the Korean country

folk that they take this kind of punishment and yet keep on. "A definite conviction," says he, "has mysteriously come to possess our whole people that their Cause is right and that the right will win. They have no hatred of their oppressors, no desire for revenge. If we had, we could soon exercise it and kill every Japanese in sight as we did in 1884, but that's not it." The conviction among Christians and non-Christians alike is that God is on the side of right, and that He will move their Cause to win. So the farmer dies with no resentment in his soul against any individual Japanese.

I know the case of a man, whose young nephew was shot and killed by a gendarme. The people of the town captured the Japanese and threatened his life because he had shot an innocent boy. But the old farmer arrived in hot haste to say, "Let him go. Killing would only add crime to crime. Let him go." Thus, they come to the Severance Hospital, shot through the neck, through the abdomen, lacerated with bayonet thrusts or hacked with sword.

This is the farmer, but how about the aristocrat? The former rulers of the land—have they any iron in their blood? One example comes to me, Yi Sang-jai. He was born in the same year as Lord Kitchener, 1850. He is not so tall, never wore a sword, is much more genial than Kitchener, but like him in this respect—that a million young men admire him and answer to his call.

Yi has for years stood for reform, and while sent once to Washington as secretary of the legation, and later made secretary of the cabinet of the old régime, the Japanese have always regarded him as a dangerous man, because of his power as a speaker.

The following will give the reader an idea of the kind of fearless man he is. To trifle with the police in Korea is like playing with dynamite. Recently, they called on

him and asked if he were aware of who was back of this Korean movement.

"Why do you ask me?" was his question.

"Because we rather think you may know—do you?"

His reply was, "Why, yes, I do. You mean the chairman of the committee that is running it?"

"Exactly."

"Well," said Yi, "I'm glad to tell you. His name is God Almighty. He is back of it."

The police answered, "Nonsense! We don't mean that. Who are the people that are running it—do you know them?"

"Yes, I know them," was Yi's answer, "know them all."

"Tell us, then," said they, with note-books ready.

"All the Korean people," said Yi, "from Fusan to the Ever-white Mountains and beyond. They are all in it. They are the committee back of the agitation."

The dry grin on Yi's face was too much for the Japanese police, who packed up their note-books with other gear and left.

On March 26, Mr. Usami, Director of Home Affairs, sent a Japanese who speaks and writes Korean, to Mr. Yi Sang-jai with these questions:

(1) What is the reason for this agitation?

(2) What is the mind of the Korean people towards the Japanese Government?

(3) What do you suggest in the way of change to set matters right?

"In answer to number one," said Yi, "I am aware of only two ways of holding an alien people—one by good faith and the other by force. Good faith rests on mutual confidence, and the assurance that the Government will do the square thing. Japan, however, broke faith when she went counter to the treaty of 1904, which says, 'The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the

independence and integrity of the Korean Empire.' In the eyes of the Korean people your Emperor Meiji lied, and they now regard all Japanese as liars. There is no faith possible here. Your only hold upon us is brute force, and that leads to its own destruction. Your brutal Government, and the mistrust we have of you and all your nation, is the cause of the present agitation.

"In answer to question number two, I must say that not a Korean is with you. In the ordeal through which we are passing, we have become a united people, united in this one thing—that we are all against Japan. The Korean mind, due to your unfaithful and oppressive actions, has receded miles away from you, never to return.

"As to the matter of a remedy, I have no suggestion. Even though I made suggestions, you have no power to carry them through, nor has Hasegawa. Leave it as it is, your destruction lies ahead."

I have noticed that the Japanese have a sort of fear of Yi Sang-jai, much as the Jews had of Amos, the prophet. He has no fear of them.

Arrested April 4, he now is locked up in the big prison outside the west gate of Seoul. An underground messenger made inquiry some time ago of the Minister of Home Affairs as to Mr. Yi's offense. "A very dangerous mouth," was the answer.

The last time I saw him was on March 30. Never had I seen in our more than twenty years' acquaintance anything but smiles on his face. His was always the cheerful word in spite of adverse wind and weather; but on our last meeting, tears filled his eyes. Was it because of fear of arrest? Not he. "What is an old dog like me doing, loose and running about in a day like this? Into prison I should go and lend my seventy years to the Cause." His tears were these: "Our girls and young women," said he, "are in the hands of savages, no humanity in them."

Even the children lift their little hands to Heaven to lend their aid. One laddie of six said to his father, "Father, will they take you to jail?"

"They may," was the answer.

"If they do, don't sign your name." This refers to a forced putting of one's stamp to a paper confessing wrong or making confession.

The father was taken a few days later, but finally released. When he came home, before the little lad could think of rejoicing, he asked, "Father, you did not sign your name, did you?"

"No," said he, "I signed nothing," so his little boy was glad.

* * * * *

Great crises bring out the true nature of man. We foreigners, who once thought the Korean lacking in courage, have now an entirely different opinion of him. The present movement for Independence reveals the real fibre of the Korean race. We now see that he possesses an order of courage, combined with cool self-control, that is unsurpassed in the history of the world.

JAPAN'S PROBLEM

Doubtless, Japan felt in 1910, when the announcement was made, "Korea Annexed," that she had entered upon a path of glory unexampled by anything in her past history. Here were 80,000 square miles of land—hers with the flag of the Rising Sun floating over it; a foothold gained on the mainland, and a definite start made for the mastery of East Asia.

Had Korea been an inanimate object, without soul, or sense, or feeling, it doubtless would have been as Japan thought. Her dry biting atmosphere of winter could have been overcome; her dull brown hills could have been whipped into line, roads and waterways opened up, and a world of wonder made of her to blossom like the rose

—an agreeable picture to the mind of the ordinary Japanese, who had just heard that Korea was annexed.

But the Japanese sometimes, like the rest of us, think they know it all before they have tried their apprentice hand, and, when the day of reckoning comes, the showing is poor.

So it is to-day. The Japanese are trying to hide it even from themselves, but the fact remains that they have made a failure in Korea, so that the peninsula is less theirs to-day than when it was annexed. In her efforts of the last four months to compel the Korean to love her, she has driven even her friends away, and now has a problem on her hands that may well give her pause.

Where lies the trouble? What is the matter?

Foreigners go by and they see great material improvements in Korea: well ordered streets, better buildings, vastly improved sanitary conditions, increase of prosperity, and they herald the news abroad that Japan has been a boon unexampled.

This is the superficial view that makes matter more than mind, and body greater than soul. It is the view of the man, who has not yet learned Shakespeare's little line, "There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so."

The writer used to imagine that Japan would prove an expert at reading the Korean mind, seeing that she herself was an Oriental, and was, therefore, within the charmed circle of the East. But he has changed his mind. Japan knows little or nothing of what Korea means or matters. The methods she adopts, the words she speaks, the announcements she makes, prove her ignorance. It is not unfair to say that she is wholly unaware of the kind of being she has to deal with, and so to-day has resorted to the bayonet and gun-butt to solve her problem.

An old woman with her hand shot off by buckshot, a little boy of twelve with his skull smashed in, an old man

smothered with his head in a cess-pool, are startling landmarks along the way, but they do not solve the problem.

Japan began with a handicap. For a thousand years and more the Korean has viewed the Japanese as his mortal enemy. Three hundred years ago this enemy landed and went through the country with fire and sword, confirming the view, till his name became the synonym for all that was evil. This name has remained ever since the Hideyoshi invasion. Now Japan comes over in the guise of the beneficent *pater familias* to rule. Starting with a debt heaped up, it surely behooved her to walk circumspectly, with all wisdom and sympathy, if ever she hoped to guide the people of Korea into a companionable relationship with herself.

But she showed her mistaken reading of the problem from the very first by her determination to assimilate. She actually thought that she could make the Koreans Japanese; wipe their language off the slate; remake their history; bury their literature out of sight, and cause them to forget 4,000 years of a civilization quite equal to that of Japan. She forgot that Koreans were an older race than herself, and that they taught her religion and morals, and were her masters in the arts and crafts that make her famous to-day; that they are mentally quite her equal, though a people of entirely different ideals. Without a notion of all this, she has set to beat up and hammer them into freshly made Japanese, and put Bushido patriotism into their souls, as you would put salmon into a tin. Never was there a greater misreading of the other man, with utter failure in its wake. The Koreans to-day are united in their opposition to the whole Japanese propaganda, and will have nothing to do with it. It is not a question of Christians; peers, literati, farmers, labourers are all in it.

The Japanese thought their civilization would win the Korean. They are an organized nation while the

Koreans are not. They have won a place in the council of nations, while the Korean has won nothing. They are orderly and diligent while the Korean is the reverse, but this again has failed.

Along with Japanese civilization go some marked defects that the Korean sees full well. For example: their planting of the brothel system all over the land, and the exploiting of the fallen woman with a million dollars back of her, is something new to the Korean, and something that he has been quick to see. "We are an immoral race ourselves," says he, "but never as bad as this," and those who read and are acquainted with Korean history know that he is right.

If Japan had understood even a little of what her task meant and ever hoped to win the Korean, she would have barred the door against the fallen woman, the unrighteous judge, the official land-grabber, and a host of other evils that stalk through the land.

Japan forgets that Korea sees, takes note, and thinks. When her youth are forbidden every national ambition, but, instead, are tempted by hand-bill and word of mouth to yield body and soul to the insidious snares of the vilest organizations, will she not see? The thinking classes cannot but say, "Don't talk to us of Japan; she is not civilized."

The Korean, like other varieties of human beings, can lie. Yet he knows that lying is degrading and will not allow his teacher, his governor or his magistrate to lie without branding him as an inferior order of being. The Japanese do not seem to know this. Here, too, they have misread the Korean mind. They think they can say anything they like in their Government papers, and report what is, or what is not, with impunity. They forget that the Korean reads it with keen eye and common-sense and says, "Egregious liars, all of them."

The fact that Viscount Kim Yun-sik, oldest of the

peers, head of the Confucian college, and ever a friend of Japan in the past, joined the movement early in March, but, as yet, has found no mention in Korea's public press; or that Kwak Chong-suk's going to prison with all the literati in his train has called forth no comment, while the papers still talk as though the Christians and Chuntokyo were the whole movement,—all convinces the Korean the more that official Japan does not speak the truth.

The task still remains. How is Japan going to do it? She will never make Japanese of the Koreans by force. The writer knows the Korean fairly well; once rouse him, and he is as hard as adamant. He calmly smiles at the all-accumulated terrors of Japan, and says, "Do your worst; shoot and kill. The time will come when the tables will be turned, and I shall be ready for you."

Japan is making out of Korea a hardened, fearless nation, where she will have nearly twenty millions of sworn enemies. This is the course that she is at present pursuing.

Can Japan solve the problem, or is it beyond her? Most thinking people think the latter. The writer thinks she might solve it if she would. Given a group of Japanese of the Kato order, who are fearless to start with, as fearless as the Koreans; who would read the other man sympathetically and see that though he is not equal to a Japanese in some respects, he is superior in others; who would like to treat him as he himself would be treated, and we shall make a start at the solution. But to shoot pointblank with ball-cartridge into the crowd that simply says, "Give me liberty," or to pound with gun-butt and bludgeon those who smile and say, "Korea Forever," or to insult decent girls because they will not be afraid, is a matter that will bring the ball-cartridge home to Japan some day.

XVIII

CONCLUSION

“**J**APAN has started something that she is unable to finish!” observed one Westerner, commenting on the Korean situation. That hits the nail on the head. The Western public was informed by the Japanese Government that civil administration has been introduced in Korea; that reforms of various kinds have been initiated; that the situation in the peninsula had reached its high-water mark in March and April, 1919, and had now simmered down to mere chronic grievances. Japan would have Westerners believe that all is well and peaceful in Korea by this time.

But the fact of the matter is that the Independence Movement merely began in March and April, 1919, and the Koreans are determined to carry it through to its end. With all her force and brutality, Japan has opened the lid of the Pandora's box of Korean independence. The movement is, in truth, more universal among the Koreans now than it was last year, and arrests, tortures and military oppression still continue. A number of able observers visited Korea since the introduction of reform measures under the civil administration of Admiral Saito. The united testimony of these witnesses, on the present conditions in Korea, speaks for itself.

Nathaniel Peffer, the special correspondent of the *China Press*, Shanghai, the most influential American daily in China, was in Korea in December, 1919. He published in his paper a series of articles, entitled: "The Truth About Korea." Mr. Peffer is not anti-Japanese, nor is he pro-Korean; he simply wrote about the existing conditions in Korea as he saw them. I quote the following passages from one of his articles which are illuminating on the present situation in Korea under the civil administration of Japan.

There is now in the heart of Korea, of every Korean, a bitterness against Japan that cannot be expunged at least for a generation, if then. It is a bitterness that has grown slowly and cumulatively in the ten years of oppression since annexation, and was permanently fixed by the cruelty with which the unarmed and peaceful demonstrations of March were crushed. The Japanese may now realize their error and make restitution. And, looked at theoretically, that may be regarded as satisfaction to Korea and even victory. But racial attitudes are matters of instinct. And it is a matter of instinct now with the Koreans. They do not reason; they do not claim to be logical. Their bitterness is implanted in them; it is in the blood of their veins. Before that bitterness reforms, even the reforms they have asked and would before have been satisfied with, are as nothing. They want independence, and only independence. They may not win it, may not win it for decades or ever, but they will be satisfied with nothing less. And they will struggle, openly or under cover, to the point, I believe, of racial suicide. It is not a matter of whether or not they are legally entitled to independence, whether or not in the present state of international morality Japan can reasonably be expected to grant independence, whether or not Korea is

yet qualified for independence. The Koreans do not even think of those questions; they refuse to. It is a matter of hatred, not reason. It is not for other people to say whether or not they are justified. But it is impossible not to face that as the basic, central fact, and it is necessary to state it as such and to realize its consequences. And it is possible to find and to state its causes.

But make no mistake about this; instinctive as the determination may be, it is not being executed blindly. To the outer world Korea may be quiescent; inwardly it is seething with activity. The "Provisional Government" that lately sat at Shanghai is not a comic opera fancy. Under the surface Korea is to-day completely organized, and, almost literally under ground, that organization is functioning. Its existence is known to the Japanese; no secret is revealed in talking of it. But its personnel, the method of its activities, its location and its support have the Japanese completely baffled. Their veritable army of spies, many of them renegade Koreans, avails them nothing. They make arrests by the hundreds, but whom they have they do not know, and they punish the innocent with the guilty. But arrests or no arrests, the organization goes on nevertheless. Even the Koreans who are in it are largely ignorant of its secret. They know only their own part. And even of those same renegade Koreans who serve Japan as spies it is understood that there are some serving it by reporting Japanese intentions and deceiving the Japanese. That, too, is no secret. The Japanese know it; they have caught some doing that. It is the atmosphere of the melodrama, and to live now in Korea is thrilling. True, the end may reveal it as tragedy. Probably it will; but it will be an historic tragedy.

* * * * *

Two facts must be impressed in connection with the Korean movement. The first is that this is no work of

"professional agitators." It is a truly national movement. The second is the remarkable organization behind it and the efficiency with which it operated and still operates. I do not mean to say that every peasant in every remote village has reasoned out to himself all the causes and implications of the movement. I do not mean to say that every village peasant understands the full implications of independence. I do mean to say that it is felt by every Korean, or the overwhelming majority of Koreans; that the instinct is strong if not the logical processes. And races, as well as individuals, move as much by instinct as by reason. And if the movement was not national in March, it undeniably is so now. The Japanese have made it so. What eyes were closed before are opened now, where resignation was before is now defiance. The Japanese have made the Koreans patriots as they wished—but patriots for Korea. In spite of themselves, they have done a great thing for Korea. Ignorant men, thoughtless boys and girls who took part in the demonstrations in the excitement of the moment and without reckoning its consequences have come out of jail not with regrets; far from that, they are now dedicated to the cause of independence. I have talked to men and women only ten hours from prison, who have endured in prison sufferings to shake the spirit of martyrs. And they have said to me that, knowing well all that it means, they would go willingly back to their cells the same day if it would help their cause. They did not all talk lightly and in bravado; I knew of some papers that they had in the big folds of their clothes while they were speaking, papers that would send them back into imprisonment for six months more. These were not your natural radicals, not the intellectuals, but plain men and women, shopkeepers and farmers, wives and mothers. Japan does not even dimly understand what it has stirred up.

An equally remarkable fact is the thoroughness and

efficiency with which the movement was planned and executed. None of the officials with the best intelligence service at their command or of the foreigners who are closest in touch with Koreans had even the smallest knowledge or warning of what was to come. There was unrest in the air; that everybody knew, but no more. Only the leaders knew and those who were carrying out the plans. Copies of the declaration of independence had been printed by thousands and sent throughout the country ready for distribution. Thousands of small Korean flags had been made and sent about—and it has always been a crime to have one of these in one's possession. Meetings had been arranged and their speakers chosen and the exact time fixed for each city. Propaganda had already been sent abroad—a copy of the declaration of independence and a statement of Korea's position were brought to me in the office of *The China Press* the same day the declaration was proclaimed. Money had been raised. A daily paper called the *Independence Newspaper* was being secretly printed in the same manner as *La Libre Belgique* and with the same thrilling accompaniments. A complex, national organization was working smoothly. For the first time in their history Koreans had shown a capacity for coöperative and united action. And all of it at dire peril and under heavy cover. It is an impressive achievement.

That organization is still functioning and the spirit behind it is still active. I have already touched on this in a previous article. I have told how the country is divided up and a secret government is in force. Orders are given, secretly communicated—usually by girls and women who travel about with papers hidden in their clothes—and secretly executed. Communications are maintained with Shanghai and with England and America. Money is raised, collected and sent out. Millions of yen have been smuggled over the Yalu River into

Manchuria and China, and thousands have been caught in transit by the Japanese and confiscated, the bearers getting harsh punishment. Men and women disappear and again appear. The *Independence Paper* still comes out at irregular intervals. It is printed on mimeographs, carried about over the country and distributed. Men find it on their desks, knowing neither how it came nor when. Where the mimeographs are obtained, where they are kept, when they are operated—all this is as baffling to the Japanese as it is to the stray tourist.

Behind the secret government itself is what is called the National Society. As one man explained to me, this is for the purpose of fitting the people for independence, of teaching them the meaning of self-government and its responsibilities and duties. The existence of this society is no secret, but who its members are and what they do—that is not known, even to all the members. Hundreds are being arrested on suspicion of connection with it, but the society goes on nevertheless. Arrests have become common in Korea. Men are taken up suddenly and without warning or explanation, are held in custody and beaten to make them yield information and are sentenced or released as the case may be. And every man who has been arrested and beaten without being guilty of any part in the movement immediately becomes a part of it.

It is not to be thought that because nothing gets into the newspaper columns all is quiet in Korea. It is not. Even while I was there demonstrations occurred in Pyeng Yang and a few other places. A nation-wide demonstration of the same kind as the one of last spring had been planned for the middle of the month, but the police learned of it and by an impressive show of force in the streets before it was to start compelled it to be called off. A national wailing day was set for public mourning, but for reasons of expediency it, too, was called off. While I was there most of the schools were closed by a



"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT LATELY SAT AT SHANGHAI IS NOT A COMIC OPERA FANCY. . . . A COMPLEX, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WAS WORKING SMOOTHLY."

strike, the students refusing to go on studying Japanese for the number of hours prescribed; they insist that it be taught only as a foreign language.

Small boys in one school in Seoul waited until their Japanese principal came in and, drawn up smartly in military formation—according to the custom of the schools—informed the principal that they could no longer study out of Japanese text-books. The principal told them they would have to obey orders, but later the Government might act on their demands. The youngsters quietly marched to a corner, tore their Japanese books into little bits, marched back in front of the principal, informed him they would come back to school when they no longer had to use Japanese text-books, smartly saluted and walked out. Such episodes occur regularly. They will continue to occur. The demonstrations may have been postponed last month; as likely as not they will be held this month or next. They will continue to be held. And they will be continued to be the hardest kind of resistance to combat—passive resistance. Their warfare is all out of Japanese technique. If the Koreans had arms with which to fight, the Japanese could shoot them down and crush them. When small boys merely tear up their text-books and walk out and grown men merely fold their arms and shout, "Long live Korea," the Japanese are at sea. They have no strategy of defense. Even torture has proven unavailing.

Miss Elsie McCormick, a trained journalist, and a careful judge of conditions and circumstances, was travelling through the Far East, in the spring of 1920 with a delegation of American women, who were looking over the mission fields with especial reference to the work that could be done for native women. In recording her observations in Korea, she wrote:

We began the day by going to see the nurses' dormitory at Severance Union Medical College, a missionary institution supported by four different denominations. We found the dormitories in confusion and the matron in tears. An hour before, the Japanese police had carried off one of the nurses on the pretext of using her for a witness; the nurses had just heard that the young woman had been bundled off to a prison in the country, far beyond the reach of those who might help her. She had gone without taking money or any personal belongings, and was, therefore, entirely without means of mitigating the discomforts of imprisonment. No charge had been made against her; it was quite possible that no charge ever would be made, the missionaries declared.

Two students in the Methodist Episcopal Girls' School at Seoul had recently been released as innocent after five months of solitary confinement, during which time there was not even the pretense of a trial. The merest suspicion of disloyalty is quite enough to warrant an arrest, in the eyes of the Japanese. There seems to be a systematic attempt to wear down the morale of the Koreans by a long process of goading and hectoring.

We next visited the Presbyterian Girls' School. More confusion. Five Korean teachers had just been arrested by the Japanese police, and were being held incommunicado. One of the young women suffered from a ruptured ear drum as the result of a beating received during a former term of imprisonment. Constant persecution of pupils and staff had reduced the enrollment from eighty to twenty-six, a missionary declared. Loss of the entire native faculty would probably mean the temporary closing of the school.

At the hospital connected with the Severance Union Medical College, we met a Korean doctor, who declared in great distress that his sister had been taken prisoner that morning, and that she had been separated from her

five months' old baby. "After all, however, we have fared better than other schools in the city," stated the physician in charge without a trace of sarcasm. "Only five of our medical students are in jail."

Although the churches we visited on the following day seemed well filled to us, those who escorted us apologized for what they called meagre congregations, stating that many members were imprisoned, and that others had fled to Manchuria. Only one of the eight native Presbyterian pastors was out of jail, they said, which was a decided hindrance to church work.

After mentioning the Japanese methods of flogging and prison tortures, which were still going on, Miss McCormick concludes:

In defense of the practice, Japanese have pleaded that flogging was the mildest punishment recognized under the old Korean law and that in using it, they were merely following the Korean custom. But no matter what excuse is offered, the fact that two young Korean students were recently beaten to death on half proved charges of disloyalty, will remain an eternal blot on Japan's administration of Chosen.

Frazier Hunt, the Far Eastern correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* Foreign News Service, was in Korea during April, 1920. In his dispatch from Seoul, dated April 20, Mr. Hunt wrote:

ALL KOREA IN REVOLT

The spirit of independence and revolution has permeated into every class and section in all Korea. Instead of lying down with the promise of reforms made by the new Japanese Governor-General, the fire is kept glowing under ashes of hate.

First by police inquisitions and gendarme cruelties, the Japanese tried to crush the revolt, but that failing, they have tried to sidetrack it with promises of numerous reforms. But there have been so many strings tied to most of the promises that they, too, have failed to check the steady growth of the independence movement.

In the days that I have been here, I have gone about among the people sounding the depth of their determination for independence. Again and again, I have been astonished to find how deeply this demand for freedom has sunk itself, and how universal is the willingness to make any sacrifice to help the Cause.

Despite the 28,934 who were thrown into jail during the first four months of the revolution, and the 9,078 who were flogged and thousands who were put through cruel third degrees by the police, the spirit of fight is far from broken.

To-day I returned from a hundred-mile motorcycle trip into the country that I made in order to see with my own eyes some of the burned Christian churches and to feel with my own hands the pulse of the Korean farmers. It was an eighteen-hour ride over bumpy roads, but it was worth it, because I need quote no one now but these peasants themselves in order to show how real is this hate of Japan and how deep is the determination for freedom.

It was difficult to get these simple, uneducated men of the soil to talk freely because of fear of the gendarmes and the heart-breaking spy system that always hangs over them like some black cloud. A fine upstanding missionary, who is giving all his life to helping these poor people, interpreted for me, but even with his assurances that we were Americans, it took more than a little coaxing before they would open their hearts to us.

"The ruins—there is what is left of the church," one old fellow finally started out. "Twenty-four men of

this village, all Christians, were killed there last year by the soldiers. They were called to the church and shot. Then the soldiers set fire to the building."

"And will you go on dreaming of freedom?" I asked.

"We are only ignorant peasants," he answered, "but we want our country for ourselves. We want our own lands."

It was not much, but it was the spark that wins revolutions—the dream of wanting their own country for themselves. And millions of them are willing to fight for it.

I recall a conversation I had with one of these militant ones on this same trip. He was a boy of fifteen, and we stopped him on the road near Seoul and started talking to him. He had finished the primary school and was now working in a little factory in the outskirts. We asked him all about his work and then swung onto the revolution.

"Were you in the demonstrations and did you shout *Mansei* (independence)?" I asked.

"Of course," he answered.

"And are you going to take part in more demonstrations?"

"Of course."

"But you might be arrested and beaten," I suggested.

"What does that matter?" he answered simply.

"But you might even be killed. You are young, and you have many things to live for. You might be killed."

"Indeed, I would truly live forever, then," he answered. "I would be a hero of Korea and men would honour me forever."

Pride in revolution! Dreams of a hero's death!

Boys growing up singing the eternal songs of Independence!

So again let it be written that the fire of revolution burns in the heart of every Korean. In some it is only

a dull glow, but in others it is a flaming spirit that can never be put out.

Japan faces the impossible because there can be no answer to the call for independence—except independence.

The foregoing statements from American eye-witnesses will give the reader an idea of the present situation in Korea. The question may be asked—what is to be the outcome of all this?

Japan's position in Korea is an impossible one. She is no more capable of governing an alien race now than she was in the days of her "Restoration," over half a century ago. The mind of her militarists cannot conceive any other force than that of soldier's rifle and policeman's sword in suppressing the orderly and non-resistant Independence Movement of the Koreans. The more force she uses the stronger becomes the movement. Indeed, if it were not for the grim tragedy behind it all and for the storm of indignation that one is swept into at the stupidity and cruelty of Japan's history in Korea, one can almost waste a little pity on Japan.

Before the thrilling miracle of a re-awakened, revived people, Japan stands completely bewildered and just a bit chastened. She does not know what to make of the sudden rising up of a crushed, broken race, just as she doesn't know what to make of a world that is no longer under the spell of the German military might-makes-right idea that she believed in and dreamed of conquering the East with.

The civil party of Japan, led by the Hara adminis-

tration, tried their time-honoured tactics—bribery—of which the Japanese statesmen are past masters. But to their surprise and regret, they found out that the Korean leaders of to-day are made of different stuff from that of the old Korean Government officials that they used to deal with, and that all the wealth and glory of the world cannot bribe a single Korean nationalist. Thus, in November, 1919, Mr. W. H. Lyuh, a member of the Korean Provisional Government, and one of the leaders of the Korean Independence Movement, was called to Japan to confer with the Japanese authorities informally on the Korean situation.

Mr. Lyuh went to Japan from China on the guarantee of the Japanese Government that his travel through Japan and Korea would not be interfered with by the Japanese authorities. He addressed a group of press men and officials at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, on November 26, then he called on Mr. Koga, Chief of the Colonial Bureau; General Tanaka, Minister of War; Dr. Rentaro Midzuno, Civil Administrator of Korea; Mr. Tokonami, Home Minister; Mr. Noda, Minister of Communication, and other Cabinet Ministers. In his conferences with them, Mr. Lyuh outlined the aims and aspirations of the Korean people, and the advisability on the part of Japan to restore the independence of Korea. In answer to a question as to whether Korea was strong enough to stand alone without Japanese protection, Mr. Lyuh said that Korea had no foes to fear; China was extremely friendly with her, and the Koreans could enter into an understanding with the Japanese, the understanding to be of a kind

that would give mutual benefits towards the protection of each other. In the course of private conversation, Mr. Lyuh said that the Korean Provisional Government could make no compromise or understanding whereby the full independence of Korea was not recognized. "We have no arms," he said, "we are defenseless, but we believe in our Cause. And, while not resorting to force in any form or manner, we will not lose sight of the main principle on which we have founded the present Provisional Government—of the people, for the people, by the people. The power of faith in a good cause is great, and to this we pin our trust."¹

The Japanese entertained him lavishly; they were extremely solicitous in looking after his wants. And there were hints that if the Koreans should change their cry from one of independence to one of self-government under Japanese rule, there were several good positions in Korea, from which Mr. Lyuh could make a selection. But all this had no effect upon this sturdy nationalist, and the scheme of the Japanese Government, to bring about conciliation in Korea by bribing Korean leaders, failed. As a consequence, the Japanese vehemently attacked their Government for having Mr. Lyuh in Japan. The native press, including *The Yamato*, *The Chugwai*, and *The Asahi*, accused their Government as fostering sedition by "temporizing with rebels." A public meeting for the impeachment of the present Government, because of the

¹A complete description of Lyuh's mission given in *Japan Advertiser*, November 27, 1919.

Lyuh affair, arranged by the *Kaiko Monseki Domei-kai* (Association for the Impeachment of the Government for Diplomatic Blunders), was held in Tokyo on December 18, at which speakers dubbed the present Government "a bad Cabinet" and described Lyuh's visit in Tokyo as "the most outrageous incident in the annals of Japan."¹

The Japanese Government did not quite fulfill its promise with regard to Mr. Lyuh's trip, as he was not allowed to cross over to Korea from Japan. Therefore, he came back to China direct from Shimonoseki. The Japanese excuse in not permitting him to go through Korea was that they feared another demonstration if he landed on Korean soil. In relating his visit to Japan, Mr. Lyuh said:

The only hopeful sign I obtained in Japan was when Mr. Tanaka, Minister of War, admitted that Japan had made some mistakes in her Korean policy of the last ten years. That gave me courage.

I asked him what was to be done, and he said the Japanese were trying to correct their former errors. I asked him how they sought to do this, but he either couldn't or wouldn't elucidate. I say that when he made the admission I regarded it as hopeful.

Any hope that might have been in my breast was dissipated a few moments later, when I ascertained that Japan is sending more troops to Korea, and that she is swelling her Korean police force from 25,000 to 50,000 men, stationing them in every village, no matter how small.

¹ Translation of press comments and the description of the meeting of the *Kaiko Monseki Domei-kai* given in the *Japan Chronicle*, December 25, 1919.

Japan recognized that the presence of soldiers on police duty was resented by the Korean people. So she pretended to withdraw her soldiers, leaving only the police. Instead, she had her soldiers change from army to police uniforms, and is sending more troops to Korea. I am convinced that Japan is awake to the seriousness of the Korean situation. I am convinced, also, that Japan is worried.¹

According to Japanese official statistics, 10,592 political prisoners have been flogged, 631 have met death, 5,156 have been imprisoned, and 11,831 are still awaiting their trial nearly two years after their arrest. These figures being "official" have the usual Japanese quality of inaccuracy in favour of themselves. It is a known fact that physicians, generally, whether in hospitals or in homes, are not permitted to give certificates of death showing that death resulted from flogging or other official punishment. For instance, Korean statistics as to those killed and executed in Korea alone, not including those in Manchuria, is over 7,000. No doubt, just as great a discrepancy would appear in the balance of the Japanese statistical data. However, even the "official" statistics of Japan tell a sad story that has in its making a volume of gruesome detail. The Japanese authorities are keenly watching the Independence Movement pending the trial and sentence of the leaders. If the movement subsides, the official vengeance of the Japanese Government will be wreaked upon such eminent leaders as Son Byung-hi, Kil Sun-chu and Choy Nam-sun. On the other hand,

¹ From the *China Press*, December 12, 1919.

if the movement is kept up, these leaders will be given light sentences or released entirely as a sop to the people.

To the leaders themselves it is immaterial what the Japanese may do. They led the movement, knowing the horrible fate that was before them. They were not unaware of the Japanese prison tortures and death that their predecessors encountered. With magnificent courage and unflinching heroism, they blazed the trail and organized the movement, so that the work may be carried on even after their death. The rank and file feel the highest honour that they can pay to their leaders, both dead and living, is to carry out their wish and continue the work that they have so nobly started on the first day of March, 1919. Thus the Independence Movement is stronger to-day than it was in the spring of 1919. On the first anniversary of the Korean Declaration of Independence, there was a universal celebration of the occasion among the Koreans throughout the world. The observance was not marked by firecrackers and high-sounding speech, but signalized by deep consecration of their lives to the Cause of the freedom of their fatherland.

In Korea the police and the soldiers took due precaution to prevent all possible demonstrations. As a consequence, open meetings were not held, but the people observed the occasion in their homes as the "Foundation Day of Korean Liberty." But to the more impulsive students, gleaming bayonets had little meaning, for even in the midst of the cordon of soldiers, an open demonstration was held in Pai Jai College, Seoul.

Consequently the school was closed. In Japan the Koreans had their celebration meeting despite the vigilance of the police with the result that fifty Korean students in Tokyo were jailed.

The Japanese Government seems to be determined to stamp out the Korean independence movement everywhere. The Korean residents in Manchuria, like their countrymen all over the world, naturally sympathized with the movement. The Japanese Government looked upon these Korean settlements under Chinese jurisdiction as a source of trouble in the future. They must be extirpated. The Tokyo Government, in the fall of 1920, decided on the drastic policy of wiping out the Korean communities in Manchuria in order to nip in the bud the Korean independence movement in Chinese territory. Against the strongest protest of the Chinese Government, more than 15,000 soldiers were sent under orders to Chientao (Kando in Korean), Manchuria, to stamp out the incipient movement for Korean freedom.¹ The atrocities committed by these soldiers equal in severity and horror some of the worst reported cases in Korea during the early part of the independence movement.² The soldiers not only killed the people, but systematically burned the villages, devastated the fields and destroyed the grain supply. Figures of the destruction

¹The Japanese Government admitted sending only 5,000 soldiers.

²For full description, see "Korean Massacres Testified by British Missionaries," *China Press* (Shanghai), December 8, 1920.

and massacre in Chientao, carried on by Japanese soldiers during October and November, 1920, are now available. They show that 3,128 inhabitants were murdered; 2,404 homes, 31 schools, 10 churches, and 818,620 bushels of grain were burned.¹

The latest report coming from the Far East, as this last chapter is being written, is the Associated Press dispatch of February 4, 1921, which announces the decision of the Japanese Government to reënforce its garrisons in Korea with another division. This means continued suppression and more atrocities.

What is to be the outcome of all this, one may ask. Will Japan ever be able to solve the problem? "Every day the solution is becoming more difficult," says Frazier Hunt, in his dispatch from Seoul. "By immediate and dramatic reforms and generous gifts of semi-independence, she might sidetrack this Korean Independence revolution, but one is wasting time even to think about this because present-day Japan doesn't talk this language of democracy and international justice and fair play. Japan's promised reforms are not even keeping pace with the revolutionary movement."

Even though all these reforms were granted to Korea, and Japan were to have no more control over Korea than England has over Canada or Australia, the Koreans would not be satisfied. They evidently intend to continue the revolution until their country is completely free from Japanese domination. They are roughly awakened, under the cruel blows of their alien masters, to a sense of na-

¹ *New York Tribune*, February 7, 1921.

tional consciousness and racial solidarity. This yearning for political freedom is coupled with the sudden setting off of all the accumulated hate, cruelty, tyranny and injustice of Japanese domination that have been practised during the ten years since the annexation. It must be remembered that even the adroit Japan cannot hammer the swords into welcome plowshares after once the sword has been stained with blood. Her task in Korea is a hopeless one. So long as there is a Korean left, there will be the cry for independence. Will Japan continue to use bayonets to crush the movement? Will this circle of sullen and passive resistance on the part of an unarmed and defenseless people, on the one hand, and the organized military suppression, on the other, be carried to the point of racial extinction of the Korean people? Can Japan succeed in annihilating the Korean race—20,000,000 people?

The Korean cause may not be so hopeless as it seems to a casual observer. Nothing in human affairs is impossible in this pregnant century. Ten years ago, no one ever dreamed that Poland would gain her independence or that the Croats and Slovenes would attain their national aspirations in the near future. Japan's present possession of superior military strength is no lasting reason that she will always hold her dominant position in Asia. The Far Eastern question is an unsettled one, and Japan is playing a lone hand. The time may come when the civilized world will fully awaken to Japanese methods in Asia and demand an accounting and settlement on the basis of justice and fair play.

Whatever may happen in the political arena of the Far East, the Korean people, though disarmed and defenseless, will continue the struggle for life and liberty with undaunted courage and unswerving optimism which form a peculiar trait of their national character; they will continue

“ To hope, till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates.”

APPENDICES

I

THE TRIAL OF VISCOUNT MIURA

The following is the full text of the findings of the Japanese Court of Preliminary Inquiries, at the trial of Viscount Miura and his associates for the murder of the Queen of Korea:

Okamoto Ryunosuke, born the 8th month of the 5th year of Kaei (1852), Adviser to the Korean Departments of War and of the Household, shizoku of Usu, Saiga Mura, Umibe Gun, Wakayama Ken.

Miura Goro, Viscount, Sho Sammi, first-class Order, Lieutenant-General (first reserve), born 11th month 3rd year Kokwa (1846), kwazoku of Nakotomisaka Cho, Koishikawa ku, Tokyo Shi, Tokyo Fu.

Sugimura Fukashi, Sho Rokui, First Secretary of Legation, born 1st month 1st year Kaei (1848), heimin of Suga Cho, Yotsuyaku, Tokyo Shi, Tokyo Fu, and forty-five others.

Having, in compliance with the request of the Public Prosecutor, conducted preliminary examinations in the case of murder and sedition brought against the above-mentioned Okamoto Ryunosuke and forty-seven others, and that of wilful homicide brought against the afore-mentioned Hirayama Iwawo, we find as follows:

The accused, Miura Goro, assumed his official duties as His Imperial Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Seoul on the 1st September, the 28th year of Meiji (1895). According to his observations, things in Korea

were tending in a wrong direction. The Court (Royal House of Korea) was daily growing more and more arbitrary, and attempting wanton interference with the conduct of State affairs. Disorder and confusion were in this way introduced into the system of administration that had just been reorganized under the guidance and advice of the Imperial Government (Japan). The Court went so far in turning its back on Japan that a project was mooted for disbanding the Kunrentai troops, drilled by Japanese officers, and punishing their officers. Moreover, a report came to the knowledge of the said Miura that the Court had under contemplation a scheme for usurping all political power by degrading some and killing others of the Cabinet Ministers suspected of devotion to the cause of progress and independence. Under these circumstances, he was greatly perturbed, inasmuch as he thought that the attitude assumed by the Court not only showed remarkable ingratitude towards this country (Japan) which had spent labour and money for the sake of Korea, but was also calculated to thwart the work of internal reform and jeopardize the independence of the Kingdom. The policy pursued by the Court was consequently considered to be injurious to Korea, as well as prejudicial, in no small degree, to the interests of this country. The accused felt it to be of urgent importance to apply an effective remedy to this state of things, so as on the one hand to secure the independence of the Korean Kingdom, and, on the other, to maintain the prestige of this Empire in that country. While thoughts like these agitated his mind, he was secretly approached by the Tai Won Kun with a request for assistance, the Prince being indignant at the untoward turn that events were taking, and having determined to undertake the reform of the Court and thus discharge his duty of advising the King. The accused then held at the Legation a conference with Sugimura Fukashi and Okamoto Ryunosuke, on the 3rd October last. The decision arrived at on that occasion was that assistance should be rendered to the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace by making use of the Kunrentai, who, being hated by the Court, felt themselves in danger, and of the young men who deeply lamented the course of events, and also by causing the Japanese troops stationed in Seoul to offer their support to the enterprise. It was further resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the Court. They at the same time thought it neces-

sary to provide against the possible danger of the Tai Won Kun's interfering with the conduct of State affairs in the future—an interference that might prove of a more evil character than that which it was now sought to overturn. To this end, a document containing pledges required of the Tai Won Kun on four points was drawn by Sugimura Fukushima. The document was carried to the country residence of the Tai Won Kun at Kong-tok-ri on the 15th of the month by Okamoto Ryunosuke, the latter being on intimate terms with His Highness. After informing the Tai Won Kun that the turn of events demanded His Highness's intervention once more, Okamoto presented the note to the Prince, saying that it embodied what Minister Miura expected from him. The Tai Won Kun, together with his son and grandson, gladly assented to the conditions proposed and also wrote a letter guaranteeing his good faith. Miura Goro and others decided to carry out the concerted plan by the middle of the month. Fearing lest Okamoto's visit to Kong-tok-ri (the Tai Won Kun's residence) should excite suspicion and lead to the exposure of their plan, it was given out that he had proceeded thither simply for the purpose of taking leave of the Prince before departing from home, and to impart an appearance of probability to this report it was decided that Okamoto should leave Seoul for Ninsen (Inchhon) and he took his departure from the capital on the 6th. On the following day, An Keiju, the Korean Minister of State for War, visited the Japanese Legation by order of the Court. Referring to the projected disbanding of the Kunrentai troops, he asked the Japanese Minister's views on the subject. It was now evident that the moment had arrived, and that no more delay should be made. Miura Goro and Sugimura Fukushima consequently determined to carry out the plot on the night of that very day. On the one hand a telegram was sent to Okamoto requesting him to come back to Seoul at once, and on the other they delivered to Horiguchi Kumaichi a paper containing a detailed programme concerning the entry of the Tai Won Kun into the palace, and caused him to meet Okamoto at Yong-san so that they might proceed to enter the palace. Miura Goro further issued instructions to Umayabara Muhon, Commander of the Japanese Battalion in Seoul, ordering him to facilitate the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace by directing the disposition of the Kunrentai troops, and by

calling out the Imperial force for their support. Miura also summoned the accused, Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, and requested them to collect their friends, meeting Okamoto at Yong-san, and act as the Tai Won Kun's body-guard on the occasion of His Highness's entrance into the palace. Miura told them that on the success of the enterprise depended the eradication of the evils that had done so much mischief in the Kingdom for the past twenty years, and instigated them to dispatch the Queen when they entered the palace. Miura ordered the accused, Ogiwara Hidejiro, to proceed to Yong-san, at the head of the police force under him, and after consultation with Okamoto to take such steps as might be necessary to expedite the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace.

The accused, Sugimura Fukashi, summoned Suzuki Shigemoto and Asayama Kenzo to the Legation, and after acquainting them with the projected enterprise, directed the former to send the accused, Suzuki Junken, to Yong-san to act as interpreter, and the latter to carry the news to a Korean named Li Shukwei, who was known to be a warm advocate of the Tai Won Kun's return to the palace. Sugimura further drew up a manifesto explaining the reason of the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace, and charged Ogiwara Hidejiro to deliver it to Horiguchi Kumaichi.

The accused, Horiguchi Kumaichi, at once departed for Yong-san on horseback. Ogiwara Hidejiro issued orders to the policemen that were off duty to put on civilian dress, provide themselves with swords and proceed to Yong-san. Ogiwara himself also went to the same place.

Thither also repaired by his order the accused, Watanabe Takajiro, Nariai Kishiro, Oda Yoshimitsu, Kiwaki Sukunorin, and Sakai Masataro.

The accused, Yokowo Yutaro, joined the party at Yong-san. Asayama Kenzo saw Li Shukwei, and informed him of the projected enterprise against the palace at night. Having ascertained that Li had then collected a few other Koreans and proceeded towards Kong-tok-ri, Asayama at once left for Yong-san. Sukuzi Shigemoto went to Yong-san in company with Sukuzi Junken. The accused, Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, at the instigation of Miura, decided to murder the Queen, and took steps for collecting accomplices. The accused, Hirayama Iwabiko, Sassa Masayuki, Matsu-

mura Tatsuki, Sasaki Tadasu, Ushijima Hidewo, Kobayakawa Hidewo, Miyazumi Yuki, Sato Keita, Sawamura Masao, Katano Takewo, Fuji Masashira, Hirata Shizen, Kikuchi Kenjo, Yoshida Tomokichi, Nakamura Takewo, Namba Harukichi, Terasaki Taikichi, Iyuri Kakichi, Tanaka Kendo, Kumabe Yonekichi, Tsukinari Taru, Yamada Ressei, Sase Kumatetsu, and Shibaya Kotoji, responded to the call of Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira by Miura's order to act as bodyguard to the Tai Won Kun on the occasion of his entry to the palace. Hirayama Iwahiko and more than ten others were directed by Adachi Kenzo, Kunitomo Shigeakira, and others to do away with the Queen, and they resolved to follow the advice. The others, who were not admitted into this secret but who joined the party from mere curiosity, also carried weapons. With the exception of Kunitomo Shigeakira, Tsukinari Taru, and two others, all the accused mentioned above went to Yong-san in company with Adachi Kenzo.

The accused, Okamoto Ryunosuke, on receipt of a telegram stating that time was urgent, at once left Ninsen for Seoul. Being informed on his way, about midnight, that Horiguchi Kumaichi was waiting for him at Mapho, he proceeded thither and met the persons assembled there. There he received from Horiguchi Kumaichi a letter from Miura Goro, the draft manifesto already alluded to, and other documents. After he had consulted with two or three others about the method of effecting an entry into the palace, the whole party started for Kong-tok-ri, with Okamoto as their leader. At about 3 A. M. on the 8th they left Kong-tok-ri, and escorting the Tai Won Kun's palanquin, together with Li Shukwei and other Koreans. When on the point of departure, Okamoto assembled the whole party outside the front gate of the Prince's residence, declaring that on entering the palace the "fox" should be dealt with according as exigency might require, the obvious purport of this declaration being to instigate his followers to murder Her Majesty the Queen. As the result of this declaration Sakai Masataro and a few others, who had not yet been initiated into the secret, resolved to act in accordance with the suggestion. Then slowly proceeding towards Seoul, the party met the Kunrentai troops outside the west gate of the capital, where they waited some time for the arrival of the Japanese troops.

With the Kunrentai as vanguard, the party then proceeded towards the palace at a more rapid rate. On the way they were joined by Kunitomo Shigeakira, Tsukinari Taru, Yamada Ressei, Sase Kumatetsu, and Shibuya Katoji. The accused, Hasumoto, Yasumaru, and Oura Shigehiko, also joined the party, having been requested by Umagabara Muhon to accompany as interpreters the military officers charged with the supervision of the Kunrentai troops. About dawn the whole party entered the palace through the Kwang-hwa Gate, and at once proceeded to the inner chambers.

Notwithstanding these facts, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them. Neither is there sufficient evidence to establish the charge that Hirayama Iwahiko killed Li Koshoku, the Korean Minister of the Household, in front of the Kon-Chong palace.

As to the accused, Shiba Shiro, Osaki Masakichi, Yoshida Hanji, Mayeda Shunzo, Hirayama Katsukuma, and Hiraishi Yoshitaro, there is not sufficient evidence to show that they were in any way connected with the affair.

For these reasons the accused, each and all, are hereby discharged in accordance with the provisions of article 165 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The accused, Miura Goro, Sugimura Fukashi, Okamoto Ryunosuke, Adachi Kenzo, Kunitomo Shigeakira, Terasaki Taikichi, Hirayama Iwabiko, Nakamura Takewo, Fuji Masashira, Iyuri Kakichi, Kiwaki Sukenori, and Sokoi Masutaro, are hereby released from confinement. The documents and other articles seized in connection with this case are restored to their respective owners.

Given at the Hiroshima Local Court by

YOSHIDA YOSHIHIDE,
Judge of Preliminary Enquiry;

TAMURA YOSHIHARU,
Clerk of the Court.

Dated, 20th day of the 1st month of 29th year of Meiji.

This copy has been taken from the original text.—Clerk of the Local Court of Hiroshima.

II

(a) TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND KOREA

PEACE, AMITY, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION

Signed at Yin-Chuen, May 22, 1882.

Ratification advised by the United States Senate,
January 9, 1883.

Ratified by the President of the United States, February 13, 1883.

Ratifications exchanged at Seoul, May 19, 1883.

Proclaimed, June 4, 1883.

TRANSCRIPT OF TREATY

A PROCLAMATION

By the President of the United States of America.

Whereas a treaty of peace and amity and commerce and navigation between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Korea or Chosen was concluded on the twenty-second day of May, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two, the original of which treaty being in the English and Chinese languages is word for word as follows:

TREATY OF AMITY AND COMMERCE

The United States of America and the Kingdom of Chosen, being sincerely desirous of establishing permanent relations of amity and friendship between their respective peoples, have to this end appointed, that is to say: The President of the United States, R. W. Shufeldt, Commodore, U. S. Navy, as his Commissioner Plenipotentiary; and His Majesty, the King of Chosen, Shin Chen, President of the Royal Cabinet, Chin Hong-chi,

Member of the Royal Cabinet, as his Commissioners Plenipotentiary; who having reciprocally examined their respective full powers, which have been found to be in due form, have agreed upon the several following Articles:

Article I

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen and the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments.

If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings.

Article II

After the conclusion of this treaty of amity and commerce, the high contracting Powers may each appoint diplomatic representatives to reside at the Court of the other, and may each appoint consular representatives at the ports of the other which are open to foreign commerce, at their own convenience.

These officials shall have relations with the corresponding local authorities of equal rank upon a basis of mutual equality.

The Diplomatic and Consular representatives of the two Governments shall receive mutually all the privileges, rights, and immunities, without discrimination, which are accorded to the same classes of representatives from the most favoured nation.

Consuls shall exercise their functions only on receipt of an exequatur from the Government to which they are accredited. Consular authorities shall be bona fide officials. No merchants shall be permitted to exercise the duties of the office, nor shall consular officers be allowed to engage in trade. At ports to which no consular rep-

representatives have been appointed, the consuls of other Powers may be invited to act, provided that no merchant shall be allowed to assume consular functions, or the provisions of this treaty may, in such cases, be enforced by the local authorities.

If consular representatives of the United States in Chosen conduct their business in an improper manner, their exequatur may be revoked, subject to the approval, previously obtained, of the diplomatic representative of the United States.

Article III

Whenever United States vessels, either because of stress of weather or by want of fuel or provisions, cannot reach the nearest open port in Chosen, they may enter any port or harbour either to take refuge therein or to get supplies of wood, coal, and other necessities, or to make repairs, the expenses incurred thereby being defrayed by the ship's master. In such event, the officers and people of the locality shall display their sympathy by rendering full assistance, and their liberality by furnishing the necessities required.

If a United States vessel carries on a clandestine trade at a port not open to foreign commerce, such vessel, with her cargo, shall be seized and confiscated.

If a United States vessel be wrecked on the coast of Chosen, the local authorities, on being informed of the occurrence, shall immediately render assistance to the crew, provide for their present necessities, and take the measures necessary for the salvage of the ship and the preservation of her cargo. They shall also bring the matter to the knowledge of the nearest consular representative of the United States, in order that steps may be taken to send the crew home and to save the ship and cargo. The necessary expenses shall be defrayed either by the ship's master or by the United States.

Article IV

All citizens of the United States of America in Chosen, peaceably attending to their own affairs, shall receive and enjoy for themselves and everything appertaining to them the protection of the local authorities of the Government of Chosen, who shall defend them from all insult and injury of any sort. If their dwellings or property be threatened or attacked by mobs, incendiaries, or other violent or lawless persons, the local officers, on requisition of the Consul, shall immediately dispatch a military force to disperse the rioters, apprehend the guilty individuals, and punish them with the utmost rigour of the law.

Subjects of Chosen, guilty of any criminal act towards citizens of the United States, shall be punished by the authorities of Chosen according to the laws of Chosen; and citizens of the United States, either on shore or in any merchant vessel, who may insult, trouble, or wound the persons, or injure the property of the people of Chosen, shall be arrested and punished only by the Consul or other public functionary of the United States thereto authorized, according to the laws of the United States.

When controversies arise in the Kingdom of Chosen, between citizens of the United States and subjects of His Majesty, which need to be examined and decided by the public officers of the two nations, it is agreed between the two governments of the United States and Chosen that such cases shall be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant, according to the laws of that nation.

The properly authorized official of the plaintiff's nationality shall be freely permitted to attend the trial, and shall be treated with the courtesy due his position. He shall be granted all proper facilities for watching the proceedings in the interests of justice. If he so desires, he shall have the right to present, to examine, and to cross-examine witnesses. If he is dissatisfied with the pro-

ceedings, he shall be permitted to protest against them in detail.

It is, however, mutually agreed and understood between the high contracting Powers, that whenever the King of Chosen shall have so far modified and reformed the statutes and judicial procedure of his kingdom that, in the judgment of the United States, they conform to the laws and course of justice in the United States, the right of ex-territorial jurisdiction over United States citizens in Chosen shall be abandoned, and thereafter United State citizens, when within the limits of the Kingdom of Chosen, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the native authorities.

Article V

Merchants and merchant vessels of Chosen visiting the United States for purposes of traffic, shall pay duties and tonnage dues and all fees according to the customs regulation of the United States, but no higher or other rates of duties and tonnage dues shall be exacted of them than are levied upon citizens of the United States or upon citizens or subjects of the most favoured nation.

Merchants and merchant vessels of the United States visiting Chosen for purposes of traffic shall pay duties upon all merchandise imported and exported. The authority to levy duties is of right vested in the Government of Chosen. The tariff of duties upon exports and imports, together with the customs regulations for the prevention of smuggling and other irregularities, will be fixed by the authorities of Chosen and communicated to the proper officials of the United States, to be by the latter notified to their citizens and duly observed.

It is, however, agreed in the first instance, as a general measure, that the tariff upon such imports as are articles of daily use shall not exceed an *ad valorem* duty of ten per centum; that the tariff upon such imports as are luxuries, as, for instance, foreign wines, foreign tobacco,

clocks and watches, shall not exceed an ad valorem duty of thirty per centum; and that native produce exported shall pay a duty not to exceed five per centum ad valorem. And it is further agreed that the duty upon foreign imports shall be paid once for all at the port of entry, and that no other dues, duties, fees, taxes, or charges of any sort shall be levied upon such imports either in the interior of Chosen or at the ports.

United States merchant vessels entering the ports of Chosen shall pay tonnage dues at the rate of five mace per ton, payable once in three months on each vessel, according to the Chinese calendar.

Article VI

Subjects of Chosen who may visit the United States shall be permitted to reside and to rent premises, purchase land, or to construct residences or warehouses, in all parts of the country. They shall be freely permitted to pursue their various callings and avocations, and to traffic in all merchandise, raw and manufactured, that is not declared contraband by law.

Citizens of the United States who may resort to the ports of Chosen which are open to foreign commerce, shall be permitted to reside at such open ports within the limits of the concessions, and to lease buildings or land or to construct residences or warehouses therein. They shall be freely permitted to pursue their various callings and avocations within the limits of the ports, and to traffic in all merchandise, raw and manufactured, that is not declared contraband by law.

No coercion or intimidation in the acquisition of land or buildings shall be permitted, and the land rent as fixed by the authorities of Chosen shall be paid. And it is expressly agreed that lands so acquired in the open ports of Chosen still remain an integral part of the kingdom, and that all rights of jurisdiction over persons and prop-

erty within such areas remain vested in the authorities of Chosen, except in so far as such rights have been expressly relinquished by this treaty

American citizens are not permitted either to transport foreign imports to the interior for sale or to proceed thither to purchase native produce. Nor are they permitted to transport native produce from one open port to another open port.

Violations of this rule will subject such merchandise to confiscation, and the merchant offending will be handed over to the consular authorities to be dealt with.

Article VII

The Governments of the United States and of Chosen mutually agree and undertake that subjects of Chosen shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States, and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of Chosen, to transport it from one open port to another open port or to traffic in it in Chosen. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, to foreign vessels employed by them, and to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of the United States and of Chosen, and offenders against it shall be severely punished.

Article VIII

Whenever the Government of Chosen shall have reason to apprehend a scarcity of food within the limits of the kingdom, His Majesty may, by decree, temporarily prohibit the export of all breadstuffs, and such decree shall be binding on all citizens of the United States in Chosen, upon due notice having been given them by the

authorities of Chosen through the proper officers of the United States ; but it is to be understood that the exportation of rice and breadstuffs of every description is prohibited from the open port of Yin-chuen.

Chosen having of old prohibited the exportation of red ginseng, if citizens of the United States clandestinely purchase it for export, it shall be confiscated, and the offenders punished.

Article IX

The purchase of cannon, small arms, swords, gunpowder, shot, and all munitions of war is permitted only to officials of the Government of Chosen, and they may be imported by citizens of the United States only under written permit from the authorities of Chosen. If these articles are clandestinely imported, they shall be confiscated, and the offending party shall be punished.

Article X

The officers and people of either nation residing in the other shall have the right to employ natives for all kinds of lawful work.

Should, however, subjects of Chosen, guilty of violation of the laws of the kingdom, or against whom any action has been brought, conceal themselves in the residences or warehouses of United States citizens or on board United States merchant vessels, the Consular authorities of the United States, on being notified of the fact by the local authorities, will either permit the latter to dispatch constables to make the arrests or the persons will be arrested by the Consular authorities and handed over to the local constables.

Officials or citizens of the United States shall not harbour such persons.

Article XI

Students of either nationality who may proceed to the country of the other, in order to study the language, lit-

erature, laws, or arts, shall be given all possible protection and assistance, in evidence of cordial good-will.

Article XII

This being the first treaty negotiated by Chosen, and hence being general and incomplete in its provisions, shall, in the first instance, be put into operation in all things stipulated herein. As to stipulations not contained herein, after an interval of five years, when the officers and people of the two Powers shall have become more familiar with each other's language, a further negotiation of commercial provisions and regulations in detail, in conformity with international law and without unequal discriminations on either part, shall be had.

Article XIII

This Treaty and future official correspondence between the two contracting Governments shall be made, on the part of Chosen, in the Chinese language.

The United States shall either use the Chinese language, or if English be used, it shall be accompanied with a Chinese version, in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Article XIV

The high contracting Powers hereby agree that should at any time the King of Chosen grant to any nation, or to the merchants or citizens of any nation, any right, privilege, or favour, connected either with navigation, commerce, political or other intercourse, which is not conferred by this treaty, such right, privilege, and favour shall freely inure to the benefit of the United States, its public officers, merchants, and citizens; provided always that whenever such right, privilege, or favour is accompanied by any condition or equivalent concession granted by the other nation interested, the United States, its officers and people, shall only be entitled to the benefit of such right, privilege, or favour upon complying with the conditions or concessions connected therewith.

In faith whereof, the respective Commissioners Plenipotentiary have signed and sealed the foregoing at Yin-chuen, in English and Chinese, being three originals of each text, of even tenor and date, the ratifications which shall be exchanged at Yin-chuen within one year from the date of its execution, and immediately thereafter this treaty shall be in all its provisions publicly proclaimed and made known by both Governments in their respective countries, in order that it may be obeyed by their citizens and subjects respectively.

Chosen, May the 22nd, A. D. 1882.

(L. S.) (Signed) R. W. SHUFELDT,
Commodore, U. S. N., Envoy of the
U. S. to Chosen.

(L. S.) (Signed) SHIN CHEN } (In Chinese)
(L. S.) (Signed) CHIN HONG-CHI }
Members of the Royal Cabinet of Chosen.

AND WHEREAS, the Senate of the United States of America by their resolution of the ninth of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring), did advise and consent to the ratification of said treaty subject to the condition following, viz:

Resolved, That it is the understanding of the Senate in agreeing to the foregoing resolution, that the clause, "Nor are they permitted to transport native produce from one open port to another open port," in Article VI of said treaty, is not intended to prohibit and does not prohibit American ships from going from one open port to another open port in Korea or Chosen to receive Korean cargo for exportation, or to discharge foreign cargo.

AND WHEREAS, said treaty has been duly ratified on both parts, subject to said condition, and the respective ratifications thereof exchanged,

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Chester A. Arthur, President of the United States of America, have caused the said convention to be made public, to the end that the same, and every clause and article thereof, may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this Fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundredth and seventh.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

By the President.

FREDK. T. FRELINGHUYSEN,
Secretary of State.

(b) LIST OF TREATIES WITH OTHER POWERS¹

Treaties of Amity and Commerce were made by Korea with various other countries in substantially the same language as the Treaty with the United States. Being to all intents and purposes identical, they are not quoted in full, but are listed below:

Austria-Hungary.....	June 23, 1892
Belgium.....	March 23, 1901
China.....	September 11, 1899
Denmark.....	July 15, 1902
France.....	June 4, 1886
Germany.....	November 26, 1883
Great Britain.....	November 26, 1883
Italy.....	June 26, 1884
Japan.....	February 26, 1876
Russia.....	July 7, 1884

¹For the full text of the foregoing Treaties see the author's *Korean Treaties* (New York, 1919).

(c) JAPAN'S GUARANTEE OF KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

Excerpts from Treaties Made by Japan Recognizing or Asserting Independence of Korea :

February 26, 1876—Between Korea and Japan.

Chosen (Korea) being an independent State enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.

July 14, 1894—Between Korea and Japan.

The object of the alliance is to maintain the Independence of Korea on a firm footing. . . .

Korea will undertake to give every possible facility to Japanese soldiers regarding their movement and supply of provisions. This Treaty shall cease and determine at the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace with China.

April 20, 1895—Between China and Japan (Shimonoseki Treaty).

China recognizes definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea.

April 25, 1898—Between Russia and Japan.

The Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan recognize definitely the Sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and pledge themselves mutually to abstain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country.

January 30, 1902—First Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognized the independence of China and Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country.

February 23, 1904—Between Korea and Japan.

The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the Independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

III¹

BALANCE SHEET BETWEEN KOREA AND JAPAN

November 17, 1905, to December 31, 1917.

Extraordinary Receipts by Japan—

Increase in Korea's national debt.....	\$ 46,475,158.50
Excess taxes collected by Japan in Korea over normal tax	50,098,877.50
Dividends due Korea on stock in the Oriental Development Company	782,925.00
One-half profit due Korea from the Yalu and Tumen River lumber undertaking.....	1,163,140.50
Dividends due Korea from operation of rail- roads	1,967,505.50
Dividends due from operation of tramways or narrow gauge railroads.....	32,000.00
Proceeds from conduct of ginseng traffic....	2,213,969.50
Proceeds from operation of coal mines.....	578,516.50
Proceeds from operation of salt works.....	347,794.00
Proceeds from operation of iron mines.....	165,481.50
Amounts confiscated from forest preserves and parks	586,305.50
Profits from operation of water works at Seoul, Chemulpo, Pyeng Yang and Chin- nampo	370,354.00

Total\$104,782,028.00

Extraordinary Expenditures by Japan—

Extension of railroads.....	\$37,645,123.00
Capital account lumber undertaking	406,000.00
Capital account coal mines	627,981.50
Capital account salt works	582,143.50
Capital account tramways	1,203,000.00
Capital account water works	3,472,996.00
Roads and streets	5,721,999.50
Bridges	2,650,000.00
Harbours	4,108,414.50
Buildings	1,162,572.00
Land survey	8,331,539.50
Forestry survey	183,768.50
Hospitals	474,197.50
Submarine cable	80,000.00

\$66,649,735.50

Difference in favor of Korea..... 38,132,292.50

¹ Appendices III to V are taken from "Japanese Stewardship of Korea" by F. A. Dolph, of the Illinois Bar, and are used here with the permission of the author. The data are taken by Mr. Dolph mainly from Japanese official reports.

IV

INCREASES IN KOREA'S NATIONAL DEBT
DURING JAPANESE CONTROL

Total National Debt as reported by Japan up to December 31, 1917	\$46,843,415.00
National Debt at commencement of Japanese control.....	368,256.50
Increase during Japanese control.....	\$46,475,158.50

ITEMS				
<i>Date</i>	<i>Creditor</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Amount</i>	
December 1, 1908	Industrial Bank, Japan.....	6½	\$	6,481,960.00
March 1, 1913	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	4		526,325.00
April 1, 1913	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5		15,000,000.00
October 1, 1914	Deposit Section, Finance Dept., Japan	5½		2,500,000.00
March 1, 1915	Deposit Section, Finance Dept., Japan	5½		1,320,435.50
August 1, 1915	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		1,500,000.00
August 1, 1915	Bank of Chosen, Korea.....	6		750,000.00
October 1, 1915	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		1,250,000.00
October 1, 1915	Deposit Section, Finance Dept., Japan	5½		155,556.00
March 1, 1916	Bank of Chosen, Korea.....	6		3,000,000.00
March 1, 1916	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		1,567,163.50
July 1, 1916	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		1,500,000.00
September 1, 1916	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		2,500,000.00
March 1, 1917	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		1,292,500.00
December 1, 1917	Imperial Treasury, Japan.....	5½		7,499,475.00
Total				\$46,843,415.00
Annual Interest Charge.....				\$ 2,522,063.37

V

EXCESS TAXES COLLECTED DURING JAPANESE CONTROL OF KOREA

Comparative Statement Between Taxes Collected During Last Year of Korean Control, \$3,561,907.50, and Taxes Collected Since Under Japanese Control.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Collected Under Japanese</i>
1906	\$ 3,699,372.00
1907	4,951,436.00
1908	6,144,100.50
1909	6,747,817.00
1910	7,393,666.00
1911	6,595,492.00
1912	6,842,432.00
1913	7,642,303.00
1914	10,101,815.00
1915	10,575,029.00
1916	10,731,620.50
1917	11,416,684.50
Total	<hr/> \$92,841,767.50
Estimated Total Normal Tax in Korea, Same Period, on Basis of Greatest Annual Tax Col- lected in Korea Prior to Japanese Occupation.	42,742,890.00
Excess Collected over normal tax.....	<hr/> \$50,098,877.50

VI

Petition by Viscounts Kim Yun-sik and Yi Yong-chik to General Hasegawa, Japanese Governor-General of Korea, March 27, 1919.

A way of doing things is good only as it accords with the time; and a government succeeds only when it makes its people happy. If the way is not in keeping with the age, it is not a perfect way; and if a government fails to make its people happy, it is not a good government.

It is now ten years since Japan and Korea were unified, and though there has resulted from it no little profit to the people with the clearing away of abuses, still it cannot be said to have made the people happy.

To-day when the call for independence is given in the street, voices without number answer in response. In ten days and less the whole nation vibrates with its echo, and even the women and children vie with each other with no fear of death in their hearts. What is the reason for such a state of things as this? Our view is that having borne with pain and stifled resentment to the point of bursting, and being unable to repress it further, at last they have found expression, and like the overflowing of the Whang-ho River the waves have broken all bounds, and once having broken away, its power will brook no return. We call this an expression of the people, but is it not rather the mind of God Himself?

There are two ways of treating the conditions to-day, one a kind way and one the way of repression. The liberal way would be to speak kindly, soothe, comfort so as to remove fears and misgivings. But in that case there would be no end to the demonstrations. The use of force, on the other hand, that would cut down, uproot, beat to pieces, extinguish, will but rouse it the more and

never conquer its spirit. If you do not get at the cause, you will never settle the matter.

The people, now roused to action, desire that restored to them that they once possessed, in order that the shame of their slavery be removed. They have nothing but bare hands, and a tongue with which to speak the resentment they feel. You can tell by this that no wicked motive underlies their thoughts.

The good and superior man would pity and forgive such as this, and view it with tender sympathy. We hear, however, that the government is arresting people right and left till they fill the prisons. There they whip, beat, and torture them, until they die violent deaths beneath it. The government also uses weapons till the dead lie side by side, and we are unable to endure the dreadful stories we hear.

Nevertheless, the whole state only rises the more, and the greater the force used to put it down, the greater the disturbances. How comes it that you look not to the cause, but think only to cut the manifestation of it down by force? Though you cut down and kill those who rise up everywhere, you may change the face of things, but the heart of it, never. Every man has written in his soul the word *Independence*, and those who in the quiet of their rooms shout for it are beyond the possibility of numbering. Will you arrest and kill them all?

A man's life is not something to be dealt with as the grass that grows. In ancient times Mancius said to King Sun of Che Kingdom, "If by taking possession of the state you can make the people of Yun happy, take possession; but if taking possession will render them miserable, forbear to do it."

Though Mancius spoke, the king paid no attention, and, as a result, came to a place where he finally said that he was greatly ashamed. This is, indeed, a mirror from history worthy to be looked into. Even the sage cannot run

counter to the times in which he lives. We read the mind of God in the attitude of the people. If a people are not made happy, history tells us that there is no way by which their land can be held in possession.

We, your servants, have come to these times of danger and difficulty. Old and shameless are we, for when our country was annexed we accepted the rank of nobility, held office, and lived in disgrace, till, seeing these innocent people of ours in the fire and water, are unable to endure the sight longer. Thus we, too, in privacy have shouted for the independence just like the others.

Fearing not presumption on our part, we speak forth our hearts, in the hope that Your Excellency will be in accord herewith and let His Imperial Majesty know so that the Cabinet may consider it, and set right the cause, not by mere soft words, not by force, but in accord with the opportunity that Heaven above grants and the wishes of the people speak. Thus may Japan give independence to Korea and let her justice be known to the whole world including those nations with whom she is in treaty relation. Undoubtedly, all will grant their approval, and, like the eclipsed sun and moon, Japan will once again resume the light and splendour of her way. Who will not look with praise and commendation on this act of yours?

We, your servants, behind closed doors, ill and indisposed, and knowing not the mind of the world, offer our poor woodmen's counsel to the state. If you accede to it, countless numbers of people will be made happy; but if you refuse, we two alone will suffer. We have reached the bourn of life, and so we offer ourselves as a sacrifice for our people. Though we die for it, we have no complaints to make. In our sick chamber with our age upon us, we know not how to speak persuasively. We pray Your Excellency to kindly give this your consideration. In a word, this is what our hearts would say.

VII

ATROCITY STATISTICS

AND

NOTES OF SPECIAL INCIDENTS REPORTED
BY EYE WITNESSES

KOREAN STATISTICS FROM MARCH 1, 1919, TO MARCH 1, 1920.

Killed	7,645
Injured	45,562
Imprisoned	49,811
Houses burned	724
Churches burned	59
Schools burned	3

JAPANESE STATISTICS FROM MARCH 1, 1919, TO JULY 20, 1919.

Demonstrations suppressed without incident.....	341
Suppressed by force	51
Suppressed by force and firearms.....	185
Total demonstrations suppressed	577

Casualties:

Koreans killed	631
Japanese killed	9
Koreans wounded and treated at Government hospitals (no statistics for those otherwise treated).....	1,409

Arrests and Punishments:

Flogged by order Gendarmes	9,078
Flogged by order Court	1,514
Prison sentences	5,156
Committed to trial	8,993
Appeals allowed	1,838
Sentences remitted	282
Released	7,116

Total killed, wounded and arrested.....36,026

Property Damage:

Churches totally destroyed	17
Churches partially destroyed	24
Other buildings destroyed	168

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH STATISTICS REPORTED TO ITS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN OCTOBER, 1919. Covering Their Membership Only:

Churches destroyed	12
Killed by shooting	41
Beaten to death	6
Pastors, elders and leaders arrested	336
Male members arrested	2,125
Adherents arrested	812
Women arrested	531
Total arrests	3,804
Flogged	2,162
Still in prison	1,642

NOTES OF SPECIAL INCIDENTS REPORTED BY EYE WITNESSES

CHRONOLOGICAL

March 1, 1919:

At Seoul—Notice posted that gathering would be held at Pagoda Park and printed copies of Declaration of Independence distributed. People gathered, shouting "Mansei" before public buildings and Consulates, sending in copies of Proclamation. No violence done by Koreans, who were unarmed. At one point gendarmes charged crowd with sabres and inflicted many wounds. Police arrested as many as they could. Following day, Sunday, second day funeral of Emperor; no pronounced further demonstration until the 5th.

March 2, 1919:

At An-ju—Crowd of 4,000 Koreans gathered, unarmed, shouting "Mansei." Seven Japanese general officers came out and fired many shots into crowd with rifles—8 killed and 20 wounded. Two of the wounded treated in Severance Hospital; student, 19, bullet in left leg; farmer, 61, shot in right leg.

At Pyeng Yang—Group of men and boys charged by soldiers with fixed bayonets. Two men on horseback ran down one man; man was then attacked by four soldiers, stamped on and beaten with gun butts until unconscious and was dragged off. Four soldiers attacked one young fellow, 22, and struck him in the face over and over again with gun butts. Thirty soldiers charged group of boys

and caught four; one boy, 14, hands were tied and was then beaten in the face. Three soldiers met workman not in crowd and beat him severely. Two women knocked down with gun butts; one was 50 years old, and as she limped away, soldiers levelled and fired. Scores of men and boys severely beaten. Five theological students, who had just arrived, arrested in their rooms; each given 29 lashes. Two girls dragged by their hair to telegraph poles; tied to poles with their hair and severely beaten. One old man, 65, beaten until he could not walk; dragged to station and beaten unconscious a second time. One Korean killed by firemen with hooks, and corpse dragged away by hooks. Old men, women and children indiscriminately abused and officially flogged at the station. Two women beaten, kicked and thrown into ditch. Soldiers fired into crowd of women. Police kept wounded from being taken to hospital to prevent record being made; however, 11 did get to hospital, who were brought in from the surrounding country with gunshot wounds.

March 3, 1919:

At Kyumipo—Church badly damaged. Villagers had gathered in front of home of an elder. Dispersed by police, and police saying, "Christians are responsible for this," rushed on to the church; smashed all the glass; broke the stove; tore out the bell and set fire to the church, starting one fire inside, and one outside. Then proceeded to school and smashed all the doors and windows. Three Koreans arrested and sent to Pyeng Yang jail.

At Maingsan—People gathered, mostly Chuntokyo followers. Soldiers appeared and arrested leader, who was badly treated; this incensed people who followed to station which was in an inclosure. After 59 Koreans had entered gate, it was closed and soldiers then proceeded deliberately to shoot them down. Fifty-six killed and three escaped. Those not killed by bullets were run through and through with bayonets. Bodies piled up and counted and when soldiers discovered that three had escaped, set out to find them. In the mêlée one soldier was shot, a Korean grabbing a gun from a soldier. Escaped Koreans not found, and soldiers then arrested a woman Bible leader sent out from Pyeng Yang; she was cruelly treated and tortured and told to cease preaching.

March 4, 1919:

At Morupsil—Crowd attacked by 4 gendarmes. Two Koreans killed instantly, 5 died later and 20 wounded. Ten of the wounded treated in Mission Hospital; one amputation on account of leg being shattered below the knee, and one shot through spine losing one vertebra.

At Ham-heung—Number of students and one teacher had been arrested two days preceding. On March 3 stores were closed and a crowd was dispersed by Japanese firemen with fire lances; a number injured and arrested. Crowd again collected on 4th and attacked by Japanese fire brigade armed with hooks and lances; many seriously injured; one student had violent mark across forehead and left leg hung limp, was detained for several days without treatment; another had skull crushed and was released in dying condition. Seven Koreans arrested, also a number of girls, and taken to station in pitiful condition.

March 5, 1919:

At Sunan-ub—Gendarmes fired into crowd killing 5 and wounding many others; wounded thrown into prison without food, water or treatment, and many deaths from gangrene. Old man protested at this treatment of prisoners. Shot dead. His wife came to recover body and was killed. Later, daughter came and was driven away, receiving severe sword cuts.

At Seoul—Promptly at nine o'clock demonstration started. Shops closed. Street Railway employees stopped work. Literati prepared petition to Governor General; on presentation at his office, were told to present at police station, and being there presented, the messengers were arrested. Demonstration a surprise to police and had proceeded for nearly half a mile before it was opposed. The crowd was charged with sabres. No respect shown for sex. Hundreds arrested. Red Cross nurses rushed out with bandages to attend wounded. They were detained in police station to prevent their assisting the wounded and not released until late afternoon.

March 6, 1919:

At Ham-heung—Stores still closed and outbreak of the 4th started again. Japanese fire brigade again rushed the crowd. Number clubbed and wounded. One taken to

station in dying condition and released to prevent record being made of his death.

March 7, 1919:

At Pan-suk—Soldiers came and pulled over the church tower, broke the panes of glass and destroyed the Bibles. Arrested 5 men and women and stripping them of all clothing beat them with clubs and guns. House of school teacher broken into. One man beaten until he died. Police being unable to find one of the elders of the church, his wife and two-year-old baby were seized; woman was stripped naked, and she and the baby beaten to compel woman to tell where her husband was. Many arrests made.

March 8, 1919:

At Kang-kei—Is a mountain village where several hundred gathered. Police without warning opened fire, killing 4 and wounding 8. Later, as police were leaving they saw two women at the river washing and fired at them; one woman hit in the head, but the other was missed.

At Sing-chang—Soldiers destroyed the church bell, and the wife of the Methodist minister, who was *enccinte*, was attacked and beaten; cannot recover.

March 10, 1919:

At Soon-an—Crowd gathered and was rushed by soldiers. Only Christians were arrested. One elder given 100 blows. One teacher arrested and cut eight times with bayonets.

From Pyeng Yang the following churches reported wrecked and destroyed—M. E. and Presbyterian at Chinnampo; Presbyterian churches at Kyomipo, Pansyok, Nichon, Namsanmoru, Tateiryung. At Mirim the elders were arrested and given 29 lashes; at Choongwha the deacons were arrested and given 15 lashes. On Saturday the 8th, two divisions of prisoners passed through the mission compound; the first had 12 men and the second had 88; were all from Syunchun, a strong Chuntokyo center, about 47 miles from Pyeng Yang.

March 12, 1919:

At Pai-paik—Teacher of Christian school arrested after having been wounded with bayonets. In *mêlée* soldiers shot into crowd killing 5 and injuring many others.

March 13, 1919:

At Sing-hung—On market day police fired into crowd, killing 4 and wounding 4; one of the killed was woman carrying a jar of water on her head.

March 15, 1919:

At Sunk-dok, near Ham-heung—Police charged crowd, killing 4 Koreans.

March 16, 1919:

At Tukum—Crowd of 500 fired into by gendarmes. One killed and 8 wounded.

March 18, 1919:

At On-chang market—600 gathered, shouting "Mansei." Clubbed by gendarmes and then fired upon; 3 killed and 20 wounded. Kim Kwang Un, 72, shot in shoulder. Tried to get to Seoul hospital, but was arrested at Chinnampo, tied, beaten and then released; same occurred at Chai-kyung-ub, but he finally reached Severance Hospital; three others also reached the hospital; one man, 21, shot in face and bullet extracted from upper jaw bone; another died in few hours, and the third, an aged man, beaten with clubs, died the second day.

March 22, 1919:

Inside little east gate, Seoul—Several hundred gathered; were fired on by soldiers; several killed, and many wounded. One man reached Severance Hospital with gunshot in eye; eye destroyed.

At Seoul—Large demonstration. Quickly suppressed and many arrests made.

March 23, 1919:

At Seoul—Organized demonstration simultaneously in all parts of city. Bayonets were freely used and many wounded. Number killed.

At Ryung-sungi-li—Crowd of men and boys charged by soldiers. Song Yong, a boy of 16, fell behind, was wounded in hand by bayonet; while sitting holding his injured hand, second soldier came up and thrust him in the stomach with his bayonet.

At Whang-hai-do—Crowd of several hundred attacked by gendarmes with clubs, swords and rifles. Three killed

and 20 wounded. Man of 25 with bullet wound in leg treated at Severance Hospital.

March 27, 1919:

At Dok-san—300 gathered shouting and waving Korean flags; attacked by 15 gendarmes; later reinforced from Seoul by motor cars. Shot into crowd; killed 1 and wounded 15. Those treated at Severance were: man 23, shot in foot; man 27, shot in leg; man 35, shot in arm and side; man 21, shot through lip; man 35, terribly wounded in body, leg smashed; 1 unknown, unconscious, shot in head.

At Horin-mal—All ordered to meet in church, the bell being rung. Twenty-six of those who responded were arrested; 6 released and 20 imprisoned; later sentenced to 90 strokes.

At Andong—Large body of young men gathered and were dispersed by police. One man attacked by policeman with sword and literally cut to pieces, receiving 20 cuts; died at hospital.

March 28, 1919:

At Morak—Number of people assembled; 3 police fired into crowd, killing and wounding several. Enraged crowd, and they killed police. Gendarmes arrived, firing into crowd. Two sons of an elder killed. Elder Cha shot through the arm; one deacon shot through the shoulder, and another through the leg; treated at Hall Memorial Hospital in Pyeng Yang. Elder Cha's brother thrust through the back with bayonet and killed. Elder Cha's house visited; his wife beaten; library and all church records burned.

At Kwang-ju-eup—600 assembled. Gendarmes fired, killing 3 and wounding a number of others. One farmer, 34, treated at hospital; jaw bone shot away.

In Pai-ju—65 li from Seoul, 1,000 gathered to shout "Mansei." Attacked by gendarmes who followed crowd shooting as they ran; 8 killed and 3 wounded.

At Ko-yang-koon—5,000 gathered; attacked by mounted police, gendarmes in uniform and in civilian clothes; many killed and wounded; number not reported by eye-witness. Man, 54, struck on arm with sword scabbard and severely beaten; was treated at Severance.

At Ko-sang—Shops had closed and were ordered opened; about 70 Koreans had gathered. Gendarmes fired into crowd. One man, 26, with gunshot wound in left arm, treated at Severance.

At Kang-ung—Market day; 1,000 gathered, shouting and unarmed; gendarmes fired into crowd, killing 4 and wounding 4; one treated at Severance with bullet in shoulder.

March 30, 1919:

At Seoul—Japanese police report 38 instances of gendarmes firing into crowds, with 9 police killed, and 361 Koreans killed and 860 wounded. Koreans' table shows over 600 killed in Seoul during March.

At Tong Chaing—On market day; demonstration. Police arrested 17, five of them women. Women were stripped naked and beaten with clubs; were then forced to stand before the Japanese officers, while officers had their tea and made fun of them.

At Kyen Syo—While people were at Sunday School and about 25 were praying, soldiers entered the church; jammed their guns through the windows; beat the leader and went away with 4 men and 3 women prisoners.

April 2, 1919:

At Tong Chaing—Body of miners came from neighbouring mine to resent treatment of women on the 30th, saying they could not allow such savages to go unpunished. Two of them were shot and one man wounded.

April 6, 1919:

At Suchon—Soldiers appeared and fired the village. This is the 15th village reported destroyed by soldiers.

April 8, 1919:

At Kang-kei—Small mountain town, demonstration started; 2 killed and 12 wounded.

April 11, 1919:

At Wha-su-ri—Village burned; many wounded and injured by Japanese police and soldiers.

April 15, 1919:

At Do-chu-ni—Soldiers entered the village; killed six sons and grandsons in one family; covered the bodies with

straw and set fire to them. Old man of 76 left to mourn his sons.

At Chai-amm-ni—Japanese soldiers entered the village; ordered the inhabitants to enter the church. After they had done so, soldiers fired into the church, and after most of Koreans had been killed, the church was set fire to. Six bodies found bayoneted outside the church where they had attempted to escape. Two women murdered; one bayoneted and the other shot. Then the whole village was burned.

We find that we must close this diary of horror with the incident of the Chai-amm-ni Massacre. It could be continued, with daily occurrences, through all of the two years that have now passed since March 1, 1919, when Korea asserted its restored independence, but it would extend this appendix beyond all reasonable limits. The reader may judge what might be added by what has been recorded, but to show that these atrocities continue, we also cite a few of the more recent events.

The reign of terror is carried on by the Japanese soldiers, not only in Korea, but also among the Korean settlements in far-off Manchuria, where there are few foreign eyes to observe and record the deeds. The Korean residents of Manchuria, like their brethren everywhere in the world, gave their moral support and financial aid to the Independence Movement. As a result, wholesale massacres, burning of villages and devastation of fields by Japanese soldiers became the order of the day. Dr. S. H. Martin, a Canadian medical missionary at Yong Jung, South Manchuria, visited one of these ill-fated villages, Norabawie, on October 31, 1920, two days after its destruction at the hand of Japanese soldiers. The following is a part of the report of the massacre, submitted by Dr. Martin to the Canadian Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions at Toronto:

At daybreak, October 29, Japanese infantry surrounded the main Christian village, and starting at the head of the valley,

burned immense stacks of unthreshed millet, barley and straw, and then ordered the people to vacate their homes.

As each son and father stepped forth he was shot, and though perhaps not dead, heaps of burning straw were placed over them. If they struggled to escape the flames, they were bayoneted. The Japanese soldiers then set fire to the houses. . . .

I have names of, and accurate reports of, thirty-two villages where fire and willful murder were used—in one village the dead numbering 145. I saw the ruins of a house which was burned with women and children inside. At Sonoyung four men were stood up near an open grave and shot. Foreigners are not permitted to travel here, as the Japanese officers are unable to guarantee their safety.

Another Canadian missionary, the Rev. W. R. Foote, says in his report:

At Nam Koa-u—October 19, leader's house and school burnt and the church set on fire, but not seriously damaged.

At Kusei Tong—October 19, Christian's house burnt.

At Ol To Kuo—October 26, four houses of Christians burnt.

At Myung Dong—October 26, a fine brick schoolhouse nearly one hundred feet long burnt, also an elder's house.

At Nopei—October 26, the church (seating 30 people) and school burnt.

At Kan Chang Am—October 30, church, school and nine houses burnt. Twenty-five people shot and the bodies burnt.

All these instances are absolutely authentic. Five people (four missionaries and one customs official) investigated conditions on two different days, spending some time with the people.

At Cheng San—The church and school and a few houses burnt; 30 people killed, 23 of them shot and seven burned to death in their own houses.

At Un Tong Ja—Church and school burnt and 80 people shot.

These are all Christian villages.

The soldiers and a commanding officer who go to these places as a general thing have no conversation whatever with the people, but do their diabolical deeds and pass on.

For instance, at Nopei the soldiers were passing through

when they came opposite a church, and the officer, who was mounted, halted his men just long enough to set fire to the church and school and then pass on.

Ku Sei Tong is the only place where any reason was given to the people at all for the action. A Korean accompanied the soldiers and told the people that the officer said he had evidence that the owner of the house had collected money for Korean patriotic purposes. If only offenders suffered even the Koreans would not seriously object; but it is where the perfectly innocent and helpless are done to death without even an opportunity to say a word on their own behalf that the injustice and hardship appear. At Kan Chang Am there are poor women left at the approach of a cold winter without a thing to support themselves and their children. The men of the family were shot; the houses and all the contents were burned; and the crops which had been gathered and stored about their houses were burned too. Some of the women and children are even shoeless. The soldiers entered the village soon after sunrise, bringing with them six men from a neighbouring village. These and the young men of Kan Chang Am were herded in front of a Korean house and without even a form of examination were shot down. From one house were a father and a son. From another, two brothers and a son, 25 in all. Then their bodies were heaped together in two piles, covered with wood, and burned. While the fuel was being placed on them, some of the wounded were still able to rise, but they were bayoneted to the ground and met their fate in the flames.

I know these people well. They lived in an out-of-the-way glen. The land is not fertile and firewood is very scarce. They were a quiet, hard-working people, kind-hearted, who struggled hard to make a living. Their church and school, their Bible and hymn books, their Sunday worship and above all, their Saviour, were their joy.

Miss Emma M. Palethorpe of Ontario, a member of the Canadian Presbyterian mission at Yong Jung, tells in her statement of the execution of five men from the village of Suchilgo who were led by the Japanese soldiers to the top of a hill about three miles from Yong Jung and there put to death. Writes Miss Palethorpe:

In the top of the hill there is quite a large hollow not visible from the road or village. The victims were made to sit at the bottom of this where they were slashed at with swords. It is reported by an eye-witness that two swords were broken, and then the awful work was finished with bayonets. Then the loose earth was pulled down from the sides of the hollow to cover the mutilated bodies.

One of the latest Associated Press dispatches (December 11, 1920), reports 375 Koreans executed without trial near Chientoa, 1,500 arrested, 2 churches and 5 schools destroyed. A previous dispatch (December 8, 1920), had reported 70 houses in one village and 130 in another destroyed.

A still later dispatch (December 14, 1920), sent by Junius B. Wood, the Far Eastern correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, who has visited the Chientoa district, states:

According to the figures furnished me at the headquarters of the 19th Japanese division, 375 Koreans were killed and 193 homes were burned during the Japanese operations in southeastern Manchuria.

Governor Tao, head of eight prefectures, including Chientoa and Hunchun, told me a few days earlier that his incomplete reports from four prefectures showed that 800 Koreans had been killed and 300 homes with harvested crops and live stock had been burned.

Reports of the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, covering a portion of the same territory, but without official machinery or other facilities to enable them to reach isolated villages and hamlets connected merely by rough mountain paths, indicated that even the figures of the Chinese Governor were conservative.

In a dispatch immediately succeeding the above (December 15, 1920), Mr. Wood gives definite instances:

In the Changsan district, including several scattered villages, 130 houses and several churches and schools were

burned and 90 persons were shot, according to reports. Among these places was a non-Christian village of thirty houses, with seventy persons. It was entirely destroyed. One entire family, hiding in a potato pit under a house, were suffocated. . . .

In Tutogo, where a Japanese vice-consul is located, the bodies of six executed men lay outside the village until dogs started to eat them. Then permission for their burial was finally given. . . .

In Najakoa valley, 100 miles north of Lunghingthun, 500 out of 1,000 homes were burned and 600 persons were executed. In some instances the bodies were hacked into fragments and piled in heaps, so that the remains could not be identified by the survivors. . . .

Out of 120 churches and schools owned by Koreans under Canadian Presbyterian supervision, about 20 were destroyed. . . . All of the three Korean owned middle schools in the Chientoa and Hunchun districts were destroyed. Mungdong Academy, a brick building worth 10,000 yen (\$5,000), was burned. . . . The Chungon Academy was sacked and the maps, charts, laboratory apparatus and books were destroyed. The equipment was worth several thousand dollars. The teachers in this school were educated abroad. Whango Academy, in the Hunchun district, was burned.

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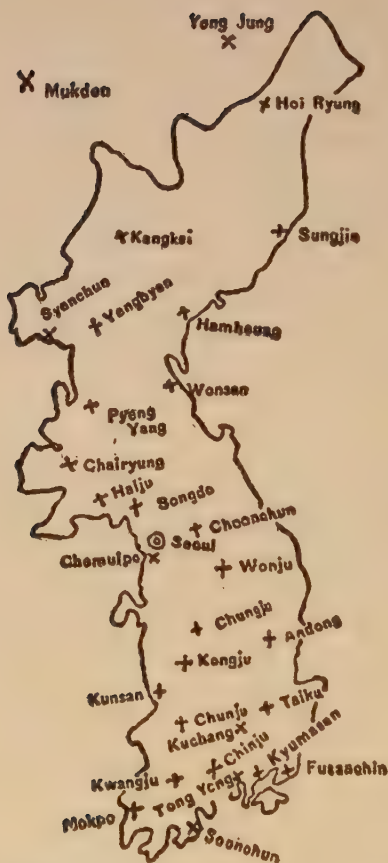
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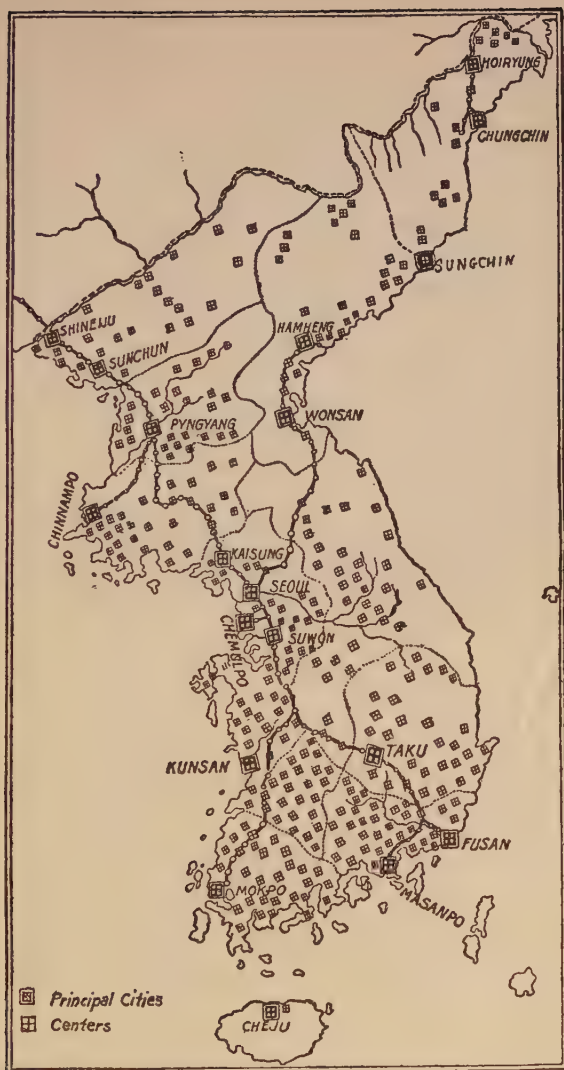
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Map of Korea Indicating the Centers of the National Movement for Independence. The Number of Demonstrations far Exceeds the Number of Areas Represented on This Map.

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